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LIFE
OF
MR. WILLIAM WHITTINGHAM,
DEAN OF DURHAM,

FROM A MS. IN ANTONY WOOD'S COLLECTION, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, OXFORD.

WITH
AN APPENDIX OF ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS FROM
THE RECORD OFFICE.

EDITED
BY MARY ANNE EVERETT GREEN.

PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.LXX.



NOTICE.

The following sketch of the Life of William Whittingham, Dean of Durham, is from a MS., formerly in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, marked Wood MSS. No. 8650, E. 4, Art. 5, now in the Bodleian, marked Wood, E. 64, Art. 5. It is in the handwriting of Anthony Wood, in a volume of biographies collected by him for his *Athenæ Oxonienses*. It is evidently a copy of an earlier MS. because the marginal notes (see p. 1, note 1, p. 2, note 1, and p. 7, note 3), are in the same hand as the rest of the MS., and yet not written by the author of the Life.

The only clue to the authorship is that the writer was in 1576 a student at the Temple ; that he frequented Court ; and that he had access—then rarely granted to men in an unofficial position—to the State Papers of the period. We may therefore presume that he was secretary or under-secretary to Lord Burghley, or his son Sir Robert Cecil, probably the latter, since the most probable date of the Life is 1603, just after the accession of James I. The manner in which the writer speaks of Queen Elizabeth (p. 10) shows that it cannot have been written during her life, and yet it seems likely that it was written before the Hampton Court religious controversy of January, 1604, or else this controversy would probably have been alluded to. An expression on p. 36 also, speaking of the transactions recorded as happening “so long

since," indicates a considerable lapse of time after Whittingham's death in 1579.

In the annotations, &c. of the MS., I am indebted for valuable assistance to the Rev. Alfred Hackman of Oxford, who has also kindly collated the proofs with the MS. ; to the Rev. Canon Raine of York ; and also to the Rev. Dr. Farrar, of Durham, for ecclesiastical as well as local information.

M. A. E. G.

100, GOWER STREET,
November 17th, 1870.

The Life and Death of Mr. William Whittingham,
Deane of Durham, who departed this life Anno
Dominii 1579, June 10.¹

He was born in Westchester, and descended from Whittingham, of the house of Whittingham in Lancashire, neare Preston, which Whittingham did marry the daughter of Haughton, of Haughton Towre, in the same county.² He became a scholler in the 16. year of

¹ In margin of MS.: "This seems to have been written by a *Calvinist.*" The term *Calvinist* here, doubtless, is synonymous with Puritan, a favourer of the Geneva principles, and does not allude merely to the Predestinarian controversy, which, since the Quinquarticular controversy of James the First's time, has been usually the idea connected with the name *Calvinist*.

² The pedigree of the family, as compiled from Harl. MS. 1535, f. 297 b, the will of Whittingham, Surtees, Durham, vol. ii. pp. 315, 326, 330, &c., is as follows:

Thomas Whittingham of Whittingham, co. Lancaster. — . . . dr. to — Butler, of Kirkland.

Roger. — Seth — . . . Richard, Sheriff of London 1524.

Thomas of Middlewich or Swettow.	Ellen, dr. of Walley of Middlewich.	Piers, s.p.	William.	Robert, or Ralph.	Agnes, — Hugh Carrington of Over.
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William of Chester. — . . . dr. of — Haughton, of Haughton Tower, co. Lancaster.

William, Dean of Durham, ob. 1579. — Katherine, dr. of Louis Jaqueman of Orieans.

Sir Timothy, of London, and Holm-side, co. Durham; living 1631.	Katherine, or Elizabeth, dr. of Bryan Askwith or Ayscough, of Osgodby, co. Lincoln; ob. 1614.	Daniel, b. 1571.	Sarah, mar. 1581.	George, Birkhead, of Bran-don.	John, 1592.	Wiliam, Wear-mouth, 1598.	Wiliam, Wear-ark, 1603, and 1604.	Deborah, Dent.	Elizabeth, 1585.	Wiliam, Dent.	Elizbeth, 1603.	Father, — Feaston-hangh.
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Timothy. Thomas, ob. 1632.	William, b. 1584.	Elizabeth.	Gerard.	Jane.
John, ob. 1614.	Katherine.	Robert.	Sarah.	George.
	Elizabeth.	Anne.		

Surtees continues the Pedigree down to 1724.—*History of Durham*, vol. i. p. 330.

his age at Oxon,¹ first of Brasen nose College, where he was under a tutor soe carefull over him to further him in learning as he hath bene often heard to bemoane that his tutor lived not till he was able to requite him for his care and love towards him. From that college he went to Allsoules college, where he was chosen fellow-probationer 1545. From thence he became a fellow of Cardinal Wolsey's college in Oxon,² where, after he had remained a few years, he betooke himself to travell,³ with purpose to travell through France, and soe into Italie; but coming to Lyons in France, in his way towards Italy, it pleased God to visit him with sicknesse, which he tooke to be a warning to cause him to alter his purpose, and to divert his course from that country, from which few returne the godlier; and soe, comming back againe, he remayned for divers years in Orleance,⁴ sometimes in Paris, but ever amongst the students in the Universities of those cityes.

In Paris, when the Lieger Ambassador for England⁵ was to goe to the Court, he ever desired Mr. Whittingham to accompany him, for which purpose he had his courtly apparel and ornaments lying

¹ Circa an. 1536. Marg. note in MS. The date of his birth given by general biographers is 1524, at the city of Chester; but if this marginal date be correct, it must have been 1520.

² Or Student, more strictly speaking, a Student in Christ Church being equivalent to a Fellow in other colleges. It is noticeable that the writer still retains the primary name of the college, Wolsey's, although Henry VIII., after the confiscation of Wolsey's property, usurped the right of being called founder, and altered the name, first in 1532 to King Henry VIII.'s college, and after, in 1546, when it became a cathedral, to that of Christ Church of the foundation of Henry VIII.—Ingram's *Memorials of Oxford*, vol. i. pp. 44, 46.

³ His licence bears date 17 May, 1550.—Wood's *Athenæ Oronienses*, vol. i. p. 446.

⁴ During his residence in Orleans, he married Catherine, daughter of Lewis Jaqueman, and sister to the wife of John Calvin the reformer, but the date of the marriage is uncertain. Her mother was daughter and heir of Gouteron, lord of Inguir and Turvyle, near Orleans.—*Athen. Oron.* vol. i. p. 447.

⁵ Dr. Nich. Wotton, Dean of York and Canterbury, was the English resident in France up to the spring of 1550. He was succeeded by Sir John Mason, who remained till July 1551, when Sir William Pickering was appointed, and remained till nearly the close of Edward VI.'s reign.

by him, which at his going to Court he used, and at his returne became *ut prius* as a student.

After some years bestowed in those universities, he went to the universities of Germany, and thence to Geneva ; and thence, having spent all King Edward the Sixth's raigne in those transmarine universities, returned into England in the very latter end of the said King Edward his raigre. Presently after whose death, Queen Mary being proclaimed, and a tast given of the alteration of religion, he forthwith resolved to goe againe beyond the seas,¹ and riding over London bridge in his way to Dover, and thence to take shipping, he mett Mr. Hard-

¹ Before deciding to leave the country, he had made an effort to obtain toleration for his party, as recorded in the following letter from Julius Terentianus to John ab Ulmis, dated Strasburgh, Nov. 20, 1553 : "Master Peter Martyr is forbidden to leave his house; and Sidall, a truly excellent man, is ordered to guard against his running away; and thus master Peter has had his own house made a prison of these six weeks. But I, perceiving that the danger was manifest, went to London, to seek assistance from my friends. They were now reduced to a very small number, and were so far from being able to assist us, that they were exposed to the greatest peril themselves. Whittingham and I conceive the project of presenting a petition to the Queen and Council, in which we embrace the entire circumstances of master Peter; how he had been invited over from Strasburgh by the deceased King, and had been recalled by the magistrates of Strasburgh during the last year, but that the King would not give him licence to depart; that the correspondence relative to all these facts was in the royal archives; and that moreover many of the Council could bear abundant testimony to their truth. We added that master Peter had committed no offence either against the Queen or the laws of the realm; that, if his enemies chose to bring any charge against him, he was prepared to meet it; that he now perceived that the Queen had no longer occasion for his services, and therefore he petitioned her for a licence to leave the kingdom.

"Whittingham and I proceed to Richmond; he presents the petition respecting Peter to the secretary, who, as is customary, lays it on the Council table, and bids us wait. On that day nothing was done: we are ordered to come again on the morrow; we are there at the hour appointed, but still nothing is done. We feel at last that we are imposed upon. We agree therefore among ourselves, that Whittingham should return to Oxford, and remain with master Peter, for he was now almost entirely by himself, since every one, except only Sidall and master Haddon, had withdrawn from his society. As to me, I remain in London, to make what interest I can.

"At length Whittingham returns after some days: we both of us wait upon [Sir

ing¹ (who wrote against Jewell) on the bridge ; who, after salutations, asked him whether he was agoing ; Mr. Whittingham answered that he was going beyond the seas. Mr. Harding demanded of him the cause ; he answered, “ Did you not heare the proclamation,² and how the whore of Roome is againe erected amongst us ? ” To which Mr. Harding replied, “ Happy are you that goe for soe good a cause.”

Mr. Whittingham and his company comming to Dover at night, whilst they were at supper, the hoast of the house told his ghuests that after supper he must carrie them before the magistrate or major of the towne to be questioned concerning the cause or errand of their going beyond the sea, for the magistrate had received strickt command from the Councell for the examination of every passenger, and Mr. Maior had as stricktly enjoyned them (the inkepers) to bring their ghuests to be examined as aforesaid, (wherin the hoast seemed to be more preremptory and precise;) it made his news the more distastfull, and in parte vex his ghuests.

Whilst they were in this anxietie, there being a faire grayhound waiting on the table for releife, Mr. Whittingham chanced to say, “ Mine hoast, you have here a very fayre greyhound ; ” “ I,” said the hoast, “ this greyhound is a fair greyhound indeed, and is of the Queen’s kind.” “ Queen’s kind ? ” said Mr. Whittingham, “ what

John] Mason, who at first declined interposing in so disagreeable a case, and said that he was altogether out of favour : afterwards however he was urgent that master Peter might be allowed to come to London, and plead his cause before the Councell. He obtains his request, and we have moreover permission to remove all our goods.”

—*Zurich Letters*, vol. i. pp. 369-370, published by the Parker Society.

¹ Thomas Harding, the well-known controversialist, opponent of Bishop Jewell. He was Hebrew professor at Oxford, 1542—1548; prebendary of Winchester, 1554; deprived by Queen Elizabeth, and died at Louvain, 1572.

² This proclamation, dated August 17, 1553, is preserved in the Record Office, Domestic State Papers, Mary, vol. i. No. 7. It exhorts all subjects to observe “ the service of God agreeable to God’s word and the primitive Church ; ” but permitting them to obey existing laws until repealed ; exhorting them not to use the “ devilish terms of Papist or Heretic ; ” and forbidding all preaching or public reading of religious books, without licence of the Queen.

meane you by that? This is a strang speech; what good subiect can endure to heare suche words of his soveraigne, to have her Majestie to be compared in kind with the kind of a dogg?" and said that the words were very treasonable, and that he could not see how they could be excused if they should ~~not~~ goe and acquainte the magistrate with it; and did further soe aggravate the matter, even of purpose, as they did drive the hoast into such a fear as he durst not once mention the carrying of *them* before the magistrate any more, but was glad to be soe freed from their incumbrance. By this meanes, all the company escaping this interruption, they proceeded on their journey.

And Mr. Whittingham remained in France till he heard of the coming of sundry English Bishops,¹ divines and other good Protestants, who for religion had left their country, and were arrived at Frankford, where after a while, they getting licence of the magistrate to establish a church there, and entring into consideration of the particular formes and order of discipline to be used in that church, they did soe farre vary and dissent among themselves as, after long contentions, noe accord could be made between them,² but were forced to disjoyne, and those to remayne at Frankford that

¹ The Bishops deprived by Mary, beside Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer burnt, were William Barlow, Bishop of Bath and Wells; John Scory, Bishop of Chichester; Miles Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter; John Harley, Bishop of Hereford; John Tailour, Bishop of Lincoln; John Hooper, Bishop of Worcester: and John Bird, Bishop of Chester. Paul Bushe, Bishop of Bristol, and John Poynet, Bishop of Winchester, resigned.

² On the subject of these disputes, Whittingham thus writes to Calvin:—

"The occasion that ought to bring us the greatest comfort from your most important letter has, in a manner, thrown us into the greatest anxiety and distress. For when there seemed likely to be no end to such noisy contentions, and on that account it was ordered by the magistrate that we should comply with all the rites of the French church, (unless there should happen to be anything that might justly be found fault with), this circumstance so much offended some parties that, leaving the contest about ceremonies, they betook themselves to forensic accusation. For Master Knox, being most unjustly charged before the magistrate with high treason, has been ordered to quit the place, not without the regret of all good men, and even of the magistrate himself.

did best like the formes of the goverment of the church of England in the dayes of King Edward VI., and those that liked better of the order and discipline of the church of Geneva did goe to Geneva, amongst whome Mr. Whittingham was one.¹ Of which controversie,² though here be good occasion given to particulate, yet

“ He is therefore on his way to you, and will explain the whole matter in order. This only I can speak from experience, that nothing ever occasioned greater distress and shame to good men than this wickedness has done; but I cannot now relate these things by reason of my grief, and he will himself explain them better and more fully in person, as well as all other matters, of which I will describe the progress and result more at length after the fair.

“ Farewell in Christ, and with your wonted affection, aid us by your prayers and counsel.

WILL. WHITTINGHAM.

“ Frankfort, March 25, 1555.”

Zurich Letters, vol. ii. p. 764, published by the Parker Society. See also Strype’s *Grindal*, p. 15; *Annals of Reformation*, vol. i. pt. i. p. 152.

¹ This was about Sept. 1555. Shortly before his departure he wrote the following letter to Calvin :

“ Supposing that this letter will scarcely reach you much sooner than I shall arrive myself, I do not write so fully as the subject itself requires, and as I could wish; for I have sent off all my baggage, and am hastening to you as speedily as possible.

“ With respect to those who are at Basle, we are in hopes that, after a mutual conference, they, together with us, will both enjoy your valuable assistance, and not only rejoice in that divine benefit, but will embrace and cherish it. I shall very soon, I hope, converse with you in person about your letter to our friends, and our own departure, and other matters.

“ Master St. Andrew has zealously condneted himself here, and to the great and common benefit of the churches. Master John à Glauberg has made honourable mention of you, as he ought to do, and requests me to salute you most diligently in his name, as, being at this time especially engaged in a multitude of affairs, he is unable to write to you. All our friends salute you, reverence, and most deservedly esteem you.

“ May Almighty God very long preserve you, both to His own glory and the common comfort both of ourselves and all others. Frankfort, Sept. 21.

“ Your disciple,

“ W. WHITTINGHAM.”

Zurich Letters, vol. ii. p. 766, published by the Parker Society.

A brief but clear account of this controversy may be found in Carruthers’

because the whole matter of that controversie is set forth in a larg discourse, in an antient book printed anno [1575] at [Frankfort],¹ I will referre the reader to that book, that he may better informe his judgment in the state of the differences between them ; and yet withall I have thought good to acquaint the reader with an epistle wrtten to Mr. Whittingham and Mr. Goodman,² being at Geneva, from that worthy, famous, and learned writer Bishop Jewell, wherin some mention is made of the controversy at Frankford ; the letter is thus stiled :

Charissimis in Christo fratribus, Domino
Whittinghamio, et Domino Goodmanno,³
Genevæ.

Out of which inscriptions this is referred to the reader's judgment, that, seeing amongst graduat schollers not distinguished by preferment, antiquity gives the precedency, yet Mr. Jewell, knowing that Mr. Goodman was Mr. Whittingham's antient in Oxon by much, and had bin the divinity lecturer in Oxon in King Edward VI. raigne, yet doth he, in his directions, give to Mr. Whittingham the preheminance ; the reader, I say, may judge as he please, whether

History of the Church of England, vol. i. e. xiv. ; Strype's *Grindal*, p. 170; and also his *Annals*, Index to vol. iii.

¹ The book is entitled "History of Troubles at Frankfort :" reprinted in 1708 in a collection called the *Phoenix*, vol. ii. It is described by Fuller in his *Church History*, b. 8, p. 208.

² Christopher Goodman, a noted Puritan writer ; he and Whittingham were intimately associated at Frankfort, and again in 1558 at Geneva, where Goodman published a pamphlet entitled "How superior powers ought to be obeyed of their subjects, and wherein they may lawfully, by God's word, be disobeyed and resisted," which, though written in Mary's time, was offensive to Queen Elizabeth because it strongly reprobated the government of women, as "a monster in nature," quoting God's instructions to the Israelites, "From the middle of thy *brethren* shalt thou choose thee a king, and not amongst thy *sisters*. For God is not contrary to himself, which at the beginning appointed the woman to be in subjection to her husband, and the man to be head of the woman, (as saith the Apostle) who will not permit so much to the woman as to speak in the assembly of men, much less to be ruler of a realm or nation."

³ Goodman, divinity reader Oxon., temp. Edward VI.—Marg. note in MS.

he will ascribe it to negligence, or if Mr. Jewell had a greater respect to the difference of their gifts and sufficiencies ; but the letter followeth :

Salutem plurimum [*sic*] in Christo.

Si quid¹ communem nostram inter nos conjunctionem aut obscuravit aut imminuit inauspicatissima illa causa et contentio Franco-fordiana, id spero jam dudum vel pietate extinctum esse, vel certe tempore ac diuturnitate consopitum ; quod ego de vobis quidem duobus nihil dubito, de me autem possum etiam polliceri. Quoniam tamen taciturnitas tegere potius solet animorum dissidia quam extinguere, Christianae pietatis esse duxi, scripto aliquo veterem nostram amicitiam excitare ; ut si quæ adhuc extarent superioris doloris vestigia, ea prorsus ex omni memoriâ delerentur. Id hactenus distuli, non animi tumore, quem jampridem prorsus abjeceram, aut fraternæ charitatis contemptu, aut superbiâ, sed quod sperarem aliquando de eâ re vobiscum acturum coram : nunc autem, cum communis hic noster amicus et frater esset ad vos redditurus, non potui deesse occasiōni. Quare, fratres mei, si in illâ causâ quam ego ne adhuc quidem possum condemnare, aut utrumque aut alterum vestrâm anquam lacerim, aut, evectus studio et contentione, dicto vos aliquo insolentius attigerim, oro obsecroque vos ut eam mili injuriam condonetis, eamque amnestiâ perpetuâ sepeliatis, ut ne verbo tantum et lingua, sed opere et veritate, inter nos diligamus, et uno animo, unoque ore, glorificemus Deum et Patrem domini nostri Jesu Christi. Eram seorsim scripturus de hâc re ad dominum Williamum et dominum Woodum, verum id nunc capit is gravedo non sinit ; quare orate, queso, illos, quod ad vos duos scriptum est, id ad se quoque scriptum arbitrentur.

Valete, fratres, et Deum pro me orate. Tiguri, ex Aedibus D. P. Martyris, Calendis Junii,

Vester in Christo,

Jo. JUELLUS.²

¹ Quis in MS.

² This letter is printed in the Parker Society's edition of Jewell's works, 4th portion, p. 1192, under the date of 1557, quoting from Ashmolean MS. 8560, 98 E 4.

Soon after the arrival at Geneva of Mr. Whittingham and the rest that went from Frankeford, Mr. Jo. Knox, who was a Scotch man, and then the minister of the English congregation,¹ was to leave that place, and to retourne to his owne country,² so as that place was to become void ; and they, not being soe well provided (for the supply of that place) amongst our countrymen as Mr. Calvin (who had the principall care of the church goverment in that citie lying upon him) liked of, moved Mr. Whittingham to take the ministrie upon him, and to be made minister ; which, notwithstanding Mr. Calvin his many urgencies and pressures, Mr. Whittingham refused to doe, alleging that in his former travells and observations and learning the languages, he had fitted himselfe for State imployments, and had not bended his intentions that way, neither would acknowledge his gifts to be such as to be soe worthy as the calling required. But Mr. Calvin resolved not to accept of any refusal, but by continuall importunitie, and urging his gifts and fitnesse, did in the end, rather by conjuring him then perswading him, praevalle, and soe he succeeded Mr. Knox in the ministerie of the English church there ;³ where, after some two or three years, the learned that were at Geneva, as Bishop Coverdall, Mr. Goodman, Mr. Gilbee,⁴ Mr. Sampson,⁵ Dr. Cole, and Mr. Whittingham (and who else I cannot relate) did undertake the translation of the

¹ In 1557 Knox's son Nathaniel was born at Geneva, and baptised on May 23rd, when Whittingham stood sponsor to the child.

² Knox's strong vituperations of the English government induced the magistrates of Geneva to send Whittingham and a Mr. Williams to him, to request him to depart, or they should be constrained to deliver him to the Emperor.—Strype's *Memorials*, vol. i. pt. iii. pp. 407—544.

³ In 1578, when the charge of invalidity of ordination was brought against Whittingham, it was stated that he was “not ordained according to Geneva,” i.e. he was only appointed to preach, not ordained by imposition of hands. See p. 30 *infra*. But Wood, in his *Athenæ*, distinctly states that he was “made a minister, according to the Geneva fashion.” Vol. i. p. 447.

⁴ Anthony Gilby was the author of several controversial and theological treatises, published between 1547 and 1590 ; one of the most important being his translation of Beza's paraphrases on the Psalms.

* Thomas Sampson, of whom it was said that it was doubtful whether there was

Geneva Bible ;¹ which long ere the same was finished, Queen Mary dying, her sister of never-dying memory succeeded ; whereupon the banished, as well bishops as others of the church of Frankford, retourned into England. Soe also did the church of Geneva, saving some of them only, and not all, that were engaged in the translation of the Bible ; soe as Mr. Whittingham did tarrie in Geneva, for the finishing of that translation, a yeare and a halfe after Queen Elizabeth began her raigne, he also there turned into meeter those psalmes of the Geneva psalmes which are inscribed with W.W.² And then comming into England,³ Francis Russell living “a better man, a greater linguist, a more complete scholar, or a more profound divine.” He was afterwards Dean of Chichester and also of Christehurch, Oxford, but deprived and imprisoned for non-conformity. Carruthers’ *English Church History*, vol. i. p. 469 *et seq.*; Strype’s *Parker*, book ii. ch. 22, and Neale’s *History of the Puritans*, edit. 1811, vol. i. ch. 4, pp. 114–117.

¹ For an account of this Geneva Bible, commonly known from the translation of Genesis chap. iii. v. 7, as the Breeches Bible, see art. Version Authorized, in Smith’s Dictionary of the Bible, vol. iii. p. 1673. Westcott, in his History of the translation of the English Bible, pp. 121—127, gives the principal share of the New Testament revision to Whittingham, and supposes him to be the reviser whose address is pre-fixed, but he also shared the labour of the Old Testament revision. It was probably at this time that he translated into Latin the Liturgy of the church of Geneva. He also wrote a preface to Nicholas Ridley’s *Declaration of the Lord’s Supper*.—*Athenæ Oxon.*, vol. i. p. 440.

² Though Sternhold died in 1549, his edition of the Psalms was not published till 1562. The first 15 were by Sternhold, 58 more by Hopkins, 5 by Whittingham, 27 by T. Norton, one by R. Wisdom, and 7 bear the initials W. K. and T. C., William Kethe and Thos. Churchyard. See John Holland’s *Psalmists of Brituyn*, vol. i. p. 110.

³ The following is an extract from the Council Book of Geneva, in reference to Whittingham’s return to England, dated May 30, 1560:—“ William Whittingham, citizen, in his own name and that of his company, came to thank the magistrates for the kind treatment they have received in this city, and to state that they are required to return to their own country, in order to minister to the church there ; but that they entreated their worships still to regard them as humble servants of the republic, and promised that in everything and every place, wherever they might have the means of doing service, either to the state, or to any inhabitants of this city, they would exert themselves to the utmost of their power. They requested, too, a certificate of their life and conversation during their residence in this city, and gave in a register of those of their countrymen who came to dwell therein, by way of a perpetual remembrance.

“ It was decreed that they should have honourable licence to depart, together with

Earl of Bedford was sent by Queen Elizabeth into France, to condole the death of [Francis II.], their late deceased King of France,¹ and Mr. Whittingham, as well for his perfection in that language, as former experience of the French courte, was appointed to attend the said Earle thertoo. After whose returne into England, presently the warre between France and England began at Newhaven,² where, for the French, the Ringrave³ was the generall to oppugne the towne, and Ambrose Dudley, Earle of Warwick, was sent by Queen Elizabeth leutenant of English forces, to defend the same ; in which expedition the said earl procured that Mr. Whittingham should goe with him, and be their preacher at Newhaven ; which he did accordingly, and did soe there demeane himself, both in his function and in the guise of a soldier's employment, as he, after the experience of the alarums comminge on the soddaine, even in the middest of the sermons, he used to preach in his armour continually, and—as the o'l captaines and souldiers of Berwick would, many years after that—when any alarum came whilst he was preaching, he would be on the towne walls as soone almost as any man. Nay if the writer herof should set downe all that he hath heard reported of him in his commendation, not only of the captaines and soldiers but of the most eminent persons, as Sir Henry Sidney, since Lord Praesident of Wales,⁵ and even from the Lord-Leutenant

a testimonial of the satisfaction we have had in them : and that they be exhorted to pray for us, and to act in their turn towards foreigners as we have done to them; that they be always disposed to look with affection upon this city; and that those who are now citizens or subjects be still regarded as such for the time to come."—*Zurich Letters*, vol. ii. p. 765. note.

¹ Francis II., husband of Mary Queen of Scots. The Earl went in January, 1561, and remained till the end of February.

² Havre, then a new-haven, being founded in 1509, by Louis XII.; for particulars of its defencie, see Froude, vol. vii. p. 54; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*. 1547—80, pp. 203—220, and *Foreign* 1562, *sub ruce* Newhaven.

³ Rheingraf Philip Francis, Elector Palatine of the Rhine.

⁴ Ambrose Dudley, son of John late Duke of Northumberland, and elder brother of Robert Earl of Leicester.

⁵ He was President of Wales in 1560, and retained the office till his decease in

himself,¹ not only in his function for his diligence in preaching, and vigilancie in discovering a stratagem intended for the surprisal of the towne, and the hazard he did dayly undergoe, in going to visit, instruct, and comfort, as need required, so many soldiers dying and dead in one great roome at once of the plague (the increase wherof caused the loss of that towne),² but also for his valour and shewing himself to be in all occasions as well *tam Marti quam Mercurio*; if, I say, I should soe doe, I should but fill up too much paper, and might be suspected of too much partiality. Yet that the truth of that that is already alleadged of the good opinion that was had of him may the better appeare, let it be considered that Mr. Whittingham got not his preferment to the Deanery of Durham by following the Court, nor by such reall gratifications as are said to be

1586, but he was at Newhaven during the greater part of the siege. See Foreign Calendar, 1562.

¹ Several honourable notices of Whittingham occur in the correspondence of the Earl of Warwick, Lord Lieutenant, and others, at the siege of Newhaven, e.g.

"Herewith your honour shall receive the copy of certain articles lately augmented, which shall to-morrow be eftsoons proclaimed; God grant they may also be duly executed. The poor here have been heretofore pitifully spoiled by the Godless soldiers, and none before this time presented whereby justice might be ministered, whereunto my lord is most willingly bent, and by Mr. Whittingham and the rest there wanteth no public admonition in this behalf."—Thomas Wood to Sir William Cecil, Newhaven, 9th November, 1562.—*Foreign Correspondence, Record Office*.

"I assure you we may all here think onrselves happy in having such a man amongst us as Mr. Whittingham is, not only for the great virtues in him, but likewise for the care he hath to serve our mistress besides. Wherefore, in my opinion, he doth well deserve great thanks at Her Majesty's hands."—Warwick to Cecil, Newhaven, 20th November, 1562.—*Ibid.*

And again—

"Forasmuch as Bradbridge and Vyron is both gone from hence, by reason of sickness, so that we have no minister but only Mr. Whittingham, who is so excellent a man indeed as that I would not for no thing in the world spare him, I have thought good therefore to put you in remembrance, either to procure Mr. Goodman to come hither, for the good report I have heard of him, or else Mr. Wyburn, for that if this man should chance to be shot, then are we utterly destitute."—Warwick to Cecil, Newhaven, 28th December, 1562.—*Ibid.*

² See Sir A. Poynings to Cecil, July 6, 1563, and other papers from July 6 to August 1, 1563, *Domestic Calendar of State Papers*, 1547—1580.

the oyle that doth facilitate the way to preferment,¹ but only from the commendation of the Lord Lieutenant to the Queen, by letters from Neuhaven,² as by a letter written from the Earl of Leycester, brother to the Lord Lieutenant, from the Court, most plainly appeareth, which letter I have thought good to set downe verbatim, for the better manifestation of the truth ; directed thus :—

“ To my good brother, the Earl of Warwik,

“ the Queen’s Majesties Lieutenant

“ at Neuhaven.

“ My good Brother,—

“ I have now at last gotten Captain Read’s bill dispatched, and the same being delivered under seal to his man, I thought good likewise to let you understand of that, so of your request to Mr. Whittingham for the Deanery of Duresme,³ wheerunto the Queen’s

¹ In May 1562, an effort was made to obtain for him the parsonage of Loughborough, the rector of which, John Wyllock, was absent in Scotland, attending Thos. Randolph, ambassador there, as chaplain. The advowson was in the gift of Lord Hastings of Loughborongh, whose tendencies were popish, and he wished to place therein Adams, one of his own chaplains. The Earl of Bedford, Lord Robert Dudley, and Mr. Goodrich used their influence with his lordship in favour of Whittingham, but in vain; and therefore Wyllock, who held the cure, though professing his willingness to resign in favour of an “ honest, learned man like Whittingham, begged leave to hold the living with a dispensation for five years for non-residence, rather than relinquish it to a Papist.”—Wyllock to Cecil, May 20, and Randolph to Cecil, May 30, 1562.—*Foreign Correspondence, Record Office.*

² It is probable from the coincidence of dates that the service alluded to is thus recorded in a letter from Warwick and the Conneil of War at Newhaven to the Council :

“ You may perceive, by certain examinations herewith enclosed, what late practices here hath been for the burning of the ships in this haven, which was revealed by Mr. Whittingham, and the parties also found out by him, upon intelligence given unto him by one Mons. Le Barre, principal minister of this town, and a man of great learning and no less fidelity towards this cause, being now departed hence to Caen, with a great number of the burgesses, whom the only bruit of war hath driven from hence, without any compulsion used therein towards them.”—Date May 18, 1563.—*Foreign Correspondence, Record Office.*

³ The modern Durham is directly from the Norman Duresme. The coinage of the episcopal mint, from Bishop Bee (1283—1310) to Cardinal Langley (Bp. 1406—1437), gives the legend indifferently Dureme, or the Latin Dunholm or Duncln. Derame first appears on a coin of Bishop Booth (1457—1476), and his successors

majesty hath also condiscended, which shee would not, I assure you, doe, neither at my or Mr. Secretaries suit ; but upon the last lettres written on his behalfe, her highness hath granted it unto him ; he is therefore, next unto her majestie, to thanke you for it. And so with my most harty commendations, I bid you, as heartily as myself, farewell. At the Court the 24th of July, 1563.

Your loving brother, R. DUDDLEY.

“ Postscript.—I pray you, in your next lettres, give her majestie thanks for the favour she hath shewed Mr. Whittingham for your sake ; and look well to your health, my dear brother.”¹

By this letter it appeareth that the said Queen Elizabeth would not have given the deanery to Mr. Whittingham, neither at the request of the said Earle of Leycester, neither of Mr. Secretarie Cecil (then soe being), but upon the said Lord Lieutenant’s lettres from Neuhaven. The cause was for that she had half promised it to one who after became one of the secretaries of State, and after Mr. Whittingham had enjoyed the deanery 16 year and died, he obtained it, but died within a yare and a halfe after ;² so as he for a short while enjoyed it.

Here, before I proceed any further, I think it meet to mention some things which hapned at Neuhaven, which particularly concerne Mr. Whittingham. He being sent from the Lord Lieutenant with a messuage to the Ringrave,³ who lay encamped before the towne, the Ringrave seing Mr. Whittingham comming towards him, he spur’d his horse, drew his sword or rapier, and came towards have all the varieties of Derham, Dirram, and Durham. In *The Siege of Carlavrook* Bishop Bee is described as “ le noble Evesque de Doureame.”—Surtees’s *Durham*, vol. i. p. 32 ; vol. iv. p. 2, p. 3.

¹ Warwick, in a letter to Dndley, written from Newhaven, the same day as the preceding, says : “ For that I had in my letter to the Queen’s Majesty forgot my humblest thanks for the behalfe of my dear friend Mr. Whittingham, for the great favour it have pleased her to show him, for my sake, I beseech you therefore do not forget to render them unto her Majesty.”—*Foreign Correspond. Record Office.*

² Dr. Thomas Wilson, who was secretary 1577 to 1581, dean of Durham 1579, and died 1581.

³ See note 3, p. 11.

Mr. Whittingham in a bravado, at a full speed, as though he would have assaulted him; wherupon Mr. Whittingham tooke out one of the pistolls he had at his saddle-crutch, and held it out towards the Ringrave, who asked him in French if he were in earnest ; he answered “ No—only attended to answere what he would put him unto ;” the Ringrave putt up his rapier, and after kind respects used—Mr. Whittingham having discharged the messuage—the Ringrave carried him to his tent and caused him to dine with him. And the table being full beset with gentlemen that were Frenchmen, they began to gibe and use broad jests against our nation, which Mr. Whittingham did soe returne upon them, to the touch of the French, that one of them that sate at the lower end of the table did rise in great fury, drew his dagger, and would have stabbed Mr. Whittingham, if the wayters and some gentlemen rysing from the table had not hindered. Wherat the Ringrave, after having shewed great indignation against the Frenchman, caused a great double gilt bowle to be filled with wine, and dranke it of to Mr. Whittingham, with these termes, “ Cup and all.” Mr. Whittingham pledged the wine, but restored the bowle ; which when Mr. Whittingham would by noe means accept of, the Ringrave sent it after him to Neuhaven, with this messuage : that if he did refuse to take it and keep for his sake, he would never esteem of him. Soe Mr. Whittingham took the cup, and left it to his sequelles (followers) as a monument of the Ringrave’s love, and care the Ringrave had to salve the wronge he had received at his table.

Next it shall be fit to shew what course and order was taken and used at Neuhaven in the ecclesiasticall government by Mr. Whittingham, and what cautious lettres were sent to him out of England concerning the same, and his answer therunto ; two lettres were sent, the one of caution and reprehension from Mr. Secretary Cicill, the other of freindly respects and advertisement from him also. The lettres follow :—

“ Mr. Whittingham,—

“ I cannot but in my small leisure send my compleint unto you.

I heare by your meanes the Queen's subjects there forbear the observation of that manner and ryte of religion that is here received by authoritie in this realme. I can surely love you for your good and vertuous gifts, but in this, if it be true, I must needs blame you. I will not argue with you, for my parte is much the stronger, and on your parte small reasons can be made ; but upon singularitie, you nor any borne under this kingdome may be permitted to break the bond of obedience and uniformitie. The question is not of doctrine, but of rites and ceremonies ; and this I write lamentably to you ; I have found more letts and impediments in the course of the gospell here, in this ecclesiasticall government, by certaine fond singularities of some men, then the most malice the Papists can shew. If you knew the crosses I have suffered for stay of religion, you might pittie me, and ought, for God's cause, to yelde to conformitie. I am not learned, but I meane well to learning, and am not unsensible of as much as is usually said in this matter. I conclude this varietie may not nor must not be suffered ; and therfore I require [you] to think and determine thereupon, how it may be amended. Setting this apart, I acknowledge myselfe much addicted to love you. *Deus est deus pacis, non discordiae.* ix. December, 1562.

“ Your assured, WILL. CECILL.”

To which Mr. Whittingham wrote this awnser as followeth :—¹

“²I am sorrie that in your great and serious affaires, your honour should be troubled with the frivoulous complaints of certaine which shew themselves offended with the manner of ceremonics used here, as a thing disagreing from the order commanded and observed in England, soe that they drive me to render a reason of that thing which I thought to have bin out of controversy, and that your honor, with ³*the rest of the*³ godly and learned ⁴*there, had easily consented unto*,⁴ and for mine owne part, St. Augustine somewhat

¹ The original of this letter is in the Public Record Office, Foreign Papers, 1562, No. 1304. The variations in readings are given in the notes ; the words affected by them are printed in italics.

² Insert “ Grace, mercy, and peace through Christ Jesus.”

³ “ others.”

⁴ “ would easily have approved.”

¹ *perswadeth*¹ me, who counselleth in such things to accommodate ourselves to the nature of the place where wee are conversant ; next, moved ² by² the opinion of this people, who, as they had conceived evill of the infirmitie of other rites and cold proceedings in religion, soe if they should have seen us, but in forme,³ though not in substance, to use the same or like order in ceremonies which the papists had a little afore observed, (against whom they now venture goods and body), they would, to ⁴ our⁴ great greif, have suspected our doings,⁵ and have feared in time ⁶ to come⁶ the losse of that libertie which after a sort they ⁷ had recovered, by⁷ the blood shedding of many thousands.

" Moreover, as I ever approved this order best, because it is ⁸ more⁸ agreeable to God's word, nearest approaching to the ⁹ example of the primitive church,⁹ and best allowed of the learned and godly,¹⁰ so I pereceived¹¹ it wrought¹² a marveilous conjunction of minds ¹³ betwixt¹³ the French and us, and brought a singular comfort to all our people. Besides this, Mr. Viron told me, that my lord¹⁴ of London warned and charged¹⁵ that wee should use noe other order for ceremonyes then that which wee should find here ; which in¹⁶ judgment, considering the place and time, is nothing prejudicall to our orders at home ; for reformation wherof all the godly have their eyes and harts bent and directed to your honour, next under God and the Queen's majestie ; for alas ! they are far from perfection, though for gaine and ¹⁷advantage¹⁷ they have many patrons who, as I think,

¹ " herein persuaded."

⁵ Insert "as not sincere."

² " with."

⁶ Omit "to come."

³ Insert "only."

⁷ " have purchased with."

⁴ " their."

⁸ " most."

⁹ " form that the godly fathers used."

¹⁰ Insert "in these days, and according to the example of the best reformed churches."

¹¹ Insert "that."

¹⁵ Insert "us."

¹² Insert "here."

¹⁶ Insert "my."

¹³ " between."

¹⁷ " vantage."

¹⁴ Insert "Bishop."

might with better conscience susteine the ¹*reprooef*¹ of singularitie then dissemble the matters of soe great importance.

“ Thus, being fully perswaded of your good affection towards me, and for discharge of mine owne conscience, I am bold to write plainly, trusting your wisdome will not be offended; for God is my judge,² if I knew³ how to ease you of soe many heavy burdens and manifold crosses, which wee all acknowledge to lye upon you,⁴ I would refuse noe paine or travell; but my earnest and continuall prayer to God is that He would send you strength and comfort long to serve, to the glorie of His holy name, (for whom noe discord is to be feared, and withoutt whome noe concorde is to be sought,) that, as you have began to uphold and advance the kingdome of His son Jesus Christ, soe you may, by His mercies, continue perfect, and establish the same, to His praise, the Queen’s honor, and all our comforts. Amen!”⁵

The second lettre before-mentioned, though it concern not this argument, yet that it may shew the respect and interchange betwixt them,—and the rather for that both Mr. Secretary’s letters were all of his owne handwriting—I think it not fit to be omitted; it followeth, with the direction thus:—

“ To my very loving friend Mr. Whittingham, principall preacher of the word at Neuhaven.

“ The peace of God and warr for Him be with you.

¹ “reproach.”

³ Insert “as well.”

² Insert “that.”

⁴ Insert “as I pity you.”

⁵ Insert “From Newhauen, this 20th December, 1562.

“ Your honour’s most humbly to commande,

“ W. WHITTINGHAM.”

The subject of introducing the English forms into the service at Newhaven was discussed at length in a letter sent the same day from Cuthbert Vaughan, Comptroller and Master-maister of the Forces, and one of the Council of war at Newhaven. He strongly dissuades the enforcing of ceremonies in a country where they world give offence, and might make the people weary of the English, and hopes the dregs of superstition yet remaining in the church may be redressed this Parliament.—See *Foreign Calendar* 1562, p. 575.

" How mighty a stroke was towards is a terrible thought to remember, but to behold His wrathfull hand was of late here so fearfull as hitherto I scantly have recovered my heart, to take the joy of this mercifull benefit ; this I write of the Queen's danger and delivery.¹ Almighty God be prayses of us all, and give us grace to remeinder His intended wrath, and to enjoy His effectuall grace and mercy ! Happy were you, for that I thinke the tydings of her danger were accompanied with the report of her amendment.

" Now that my lord of Warwick is come, I trust every day will amend another. I hartily thanke you for your gentle lettre, and pray you, as your leisure may serve, to write sometime to me, which shall be my comfort, though by my answer I acquite them not, for lack of leisure. The fortunate death of the unfortunate King of Navarre² cannot but induce a great blessing of God. xxijij of October 1562, from

" Yours in Christ assured,

" W. CECILL."

Mr. Whittingham's lettre in answer of the former I omitt for brevity sake, for that it doth not concerne this purpose, but conteins advertisements of the then State affaires, wherof now there can be but small use.³

¹ The reference here is to a dangerous attack of small-pox, from which Queen Elizabeth suffered in October 1562.

² Antoine de Bourbon, King of Navarre, died 7th Nov. 1562, of a wound received at the siege of Rouen.

³ The letter in question is preserved in the Public Record Office, Foreign Papers, 1562, No. 1771, and is as follows :

" Grace, mercy, and peace through Christ Jesus our Lord. Oh, happy news that brought life before they threatened death ! Oh our miserable sins, that brought in danger that life which should have drawn so many thousands to death ! Oh, the unspeakable mercies of our God, who, by prolonging that life, hath revived all true professors of God's holy word !

" Thus we may see the just judgments of God, and also may behold his wonderful mercys which surmonnt them. God grant us true repentance for our sins, fervent minds to prayer, sincere love of his word, and the right practise of our Christian profession !

And soe Mr. Whittingham, returning from Neuhaven, and com-

" But one thing, right honourable, doeth make me to tremble, when I behold God's plagues in such a readiness, and represented unto us in those blood-thirsty wolves, which seem to be reserved and kept up to make them more eager and greedy of the blood of the poor lambs of Jesus Christ, which daily they gape after and threaten. Certainly an horrible terror to all God's children, a discouraging to all the professors of true religion, and to the enemy a wonderful encouraging, whereby his heart toward God is hardened, and against the Queen's Majesty made rebellious. The Lord God move her heart to remedy this evil, and send her a long and prosperous reign, to his glory, and the comfort, not only of us her subjeects, but of all Christendom ; seeing the whole state thereoff this day dependeth on her Majesty.

" It would be tedious to repeat to your honour all our news, which my Lord President can most certainly declair, upon whose relation I doubt not but you will, by foreseeing the dangers, provide speedy remedy. My Lord-Lientenant behaveth [him] self very honourably, and hath the commendation of all sorts. Only it may please your honour not to suffer him to be destitute of some special wise counsellor, whose heart may be sincerely bent to this cause, whose valientness may engender fear in the enemy, and whose wisdom may with speed remedy dangers; for now that my Lord President is departed hence, my Lord shall be almost left destitute. Yea and by the private dissensions of them whose authority, by concord, might appease all particular grudges of other men, our state might easily fall into danger.

" The Rhinegrave was within half-a-mile of this town, with a great company of Almains, pretending no hurt but meaning no goodness, as your honour shall perceive by my Lord Presedent. The next day afterward, which was the seventh of this month, he departed toward Guise, leaving 12 ensigns of Almains within two miles of this place. Guise by report is gone toward Paris. Some say that the prince hath taken all such plate and treasure as the King had left at Fontainebleau.

" Here is a gentleman called Mons. Beauvoir, left as governor under the Vidame in such things as shall appertain to the duty of the French towards our state. He hath married the Vidame's sister, and surely is a godly, valiant, and trusty gentleman, greatly affectioned toward your honour; therefore I wish he might be encouraged in his well doing. Concerning religion certain orders are drawn, but as yet not published, for preaching and prayers to be had daily, and for discipline to be practised for the supressing of vice, which would otherwise in short time grievously infect this flock. Hither came, with my Lord, one Mr. Broadbridge, minister, and since their departure from Dieppe, Mr. Viron. The soldiers are for the most part so void of knowledge and fear of God that I think, considering the number that is to come, we shall all have occasion to be both well and diligently occupied. Thus I am bold to trouble your honour, albeit I am not ignorant of your great affairs otherwise, and of your special care for the furtherance of this cause.

ming to Durham to reside upon his deanery there, anno 1563,¹ after he had remained there some years, Secretary Cecil was advanced to be Lord Treasurer,² in whose place Mr. Whittingham was nominated, amongst others, to succeede him in place of secretarie, and was thought fit for that place, in respect of his perfection in the French tongue, and his experience he had gathered in twelve years beyond the seas ; but the Lord Burleigh, Lord Treasurer, alleadged that it was pitty to call him to such imployment, being soe well fitted to discharge his place in his function, neither did he thinke that he would except therof, if it were offered him ; aganst which it was alleadged that he, having noe other church living but the deanery, and it being *sine curâ animarum*, as deaneryes are said to be, it was only a dignity belonging to the church, rather than a place tying one to continuall residence : but that tooke nee effect, in respect of the incongruitie which it cannot but carrie in all men's judgments.

And, notwithstanding the contents of Mr. Whittingham his former lettre concerning church discipline,³ after he⁴ had remained in the deanery two or three years,⁴ and the order of vestures being generally

“ The Lord God bless and prosper yon, and direct yon in this and all other your Godly enterprises, to His glory, the honour of the Queen's majesty, and all our comforts ! Amen. From New Haven this 8 Novembre.

“ Your honour's most humbly to obey,

“ W. WHITTINGHAM.

“ To the right honourable Sir William Cecil, Knight,
principal secretary to the Queen's majesty.”

¹ On his passage through London, he preached before the Queen, at Windsor, on Sept. 2, 1563.—Strype's *Annals*, vol. i. pt. 2, p. 88, and *Parker*, vol. i. p. 268.

² Sir William Cecil was made Lord Burghley February 25, 1571, and Lord High Treasurer 15th July, 1572. The seeretaryship devolved upon Sir Thomas Smith, and was shared with him the following year by Sir Francis Walsingham.

³ A long controversial letter from Whittingham to the Earl of Leicester, against the “old Popish apparel,” dated Durham, 1564, is printed in Strype's *Parker*, vol. iii. pp. 76—84.

⁴ The question does not seem to have been so much whether chasnbles, &c., should be retained, as whether the surplice should be worn instead of the black Geneva gown. The Elizabethan Prayer Book of 1559 contained a rubric retaining vestments ; the Statute I Eliz. cap. 2, sec. 25, qualified this, but leaving large discretionary powers in the hands of the Queen.

established for churchmen,¹ and soe pressed as they that would not use the same should not be permitted to exercise their ministrie, he then submitted himself thereunto ;² and, being upbraided therewith for so doing, by one that had bin with him at Geneva, he answered that they knew and had heard Mr. Calvin say, that for these externall matters of order they must not neglect their ministrie, for soe should they, for tything of mint, neglect the greater things of the law.³ And concerning singing in the church, Mr. Whittingham

¹ An account of the controversy may be seen in Collier's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii. p. 495, and in Blunt's Annotated Prayer Book, Introduction p. 67.

² He and Mr. Beton refused at first, but afterwards consented. Strype's *Grindal*, p. 145. Canon Raine has kindly supplied the following notes from the York registers, relative to this controversy. The interrogatories are absent, but may be guessed at from the replies in most cases.

"August 5, 1566. Office against Mr. Wm. Whittingham, Dean of Durham. Certain articles are administered to him, to which he makes the following replies:—

"1. True.

"2. He doyth not now well remembre, nor certainly knowe the lawes, statutes, etc., articulate, and therfore he doythe referre himselfe to the same.

"3. He doyth not well knowe or remembre—(as before).

"4. He openly goeth abrode in the cyty of Duresme, and also into the queare in the cathedrall churche of Duresme, doyth and hayth used to weare a rounde capp, and sometymes abrode in the country.

"5. He cometh into the cathedrall churche of Duresme, and into the queare ther, in a rounde capp and a gowne, without a surples above the same, but not to the offence of any honeste or grave personnes, as he beleveþe.

"6. He one time, upon Christenmas Day nexte comynge shalbe thre yeres, dyd minister the Communyon withouty eyther cope or surples, howbeit he dyd not minister the Communyon sence that day, and he receyveth the Communyon neyther syttinge nor standinge, but bowing his kue towradys the grounde at the receyving therof.

"7. True.

"He is enjoined henceforth to wear decent apparell in church and elsewhere ou pain of deprivation ; to conform before All Saints' Day next, and to appear to certify his conformity,

"February 17, 1566-7. Pronounced contamacious for not certifying his conformity.

² A contemporary rhymer writes:—

"Wood, Williams, Whittingham, and Sutton,
Valued the Prayer Book not a button,
 gy they grudg'd to say,
And threw the surplice quite away—
Alter'd confession, chang'd the hymns
For old Jack Hopkins' pithy rhymes."

Ward's *Reformation Cant*, i.

did soe farre allowe of that as he was very carefull to provide the best songs and anthems that could be got out of the Queen's chapell, to furnish the quire with all, himselfe being skillfull in musick.¹

After, when he had lived in the deanery of Durham five or six years more, the rebellion in the North at Durham growing towards, Mr. Whittingham moved the then Bishop,² divers weeks before the rebels broke forth into open act, that he would send for his

" February 18. 1566-7. Does not appear. Ordered to be cited to appear in person.

" March 17. Citation again decreed. If disobeyed he will be deprived.

" March 18. John Broket, publie notary, appears for the Dean, alleges his conformity and desires dismissal of suit. Ordered to prove conformity.

" May 26, 1567. A letter of James Bishop of Durham, put in by proctor, testifying to the Dean's conformity.

" August 2, 1567. After many delays, the Commissioners release him from the suit."

¹ The following letter, printed in Strype's *Parker*, vol i. pp. 267-8, gives some account of Whittingham's official labours :—

" Grace, mercy, and peace, through Jesus Christ our Lord !

" Albeit I am not ignorant how unbecoming it is to trouble your honour with letters of small importance, yet I colde not, in so long tyme, omit to shew some signification of my special duety, as wel to yielde unto your honor most humble thanks, with promise of my seruice where you shall appoint, as also to certify you of our doings here.

" First, in the morning at six of the clock, the grammar schoole and song schoole, with all the servants of the house, resort to prayers into the church ; which exercise continueth almost half-an-hour. At nyne of the clock we have our ordinary service, and likewise at thre afternone. The Wednesdays and Fridays are appointed to a general fast, with prayers and preaching of God's word. The Sundaies and holydays before none we have sermons, and at after none the catechisme is expounded.

" Because we lak an able scholemaster, I bestow daily three or four hours in teaching the youth, till God provide us of some that may better suffice.

" The people in the country are very docile, and willing to hear God's word ; bnt the towne is very stiff, notwithstanding they be handeled with al lenitie and gentleness. The best hope I have that now of late they begyn to resort more diligently to the sermons and seruice. God make us all profitable setters forth of His glory, and preserve long, bless, and direct your honour, to His glory and all our comforts ! My brother Mr. Hallyday most humbly saluteth your honour ; so doth Mr. Benet.

" From Durham, this 19th December.

" Your honour's most humbly to commande,

" W. WHITTINGHAM."

² James Pilkington, elected 20th February, 1561, ob. 23rd January, 1576, aged 55.

teneants to come to his castell at Durham, with their warlike furniture ; which if he would doe, he could cause all the tenants of the church to joyne likewise with them, which would be a means to awe the collecting rebells, and be a stay and refuge for many gentlemen of the country to repaire unto, for want wherof many might be drawen to adhære to the rebells ; which fell out after according, to the utter ruine of many of the gentlemen and their posterityes, and the country to this day doe bearre the scares of that error. But the bishop answered that he had a great deale of the Queen's money in his hand, and durst not hazard it.

About a weeke before the rebells rose, Mr. Whittingham rid to Newcastle, and, calling the maior and aldermen togeather, did acquaint them with the then present estate of the country, and how much it concerned them to look to their owne safety, for they must needs thinke that, upon the said rising, they would first attempt to surprise them there, (if they could find them unprovided,) that they might be lords of their wealth, and that they might be therby the better enabled to maintayne their undertaken enterprise. Wherupon the maior caused the gates of the towne to be presently shutt, the ordinance to be carried to the wall, and such further courses for fortifications to be used as Mr. Whittingham, out of his experience in the seige of Neuhaven, was able to advise them unto ; by meanes wherof the rebells never dared the attempt of the seige of that towne, which was then the refuge for the better affected subjects.

Mr. Whittingham himself tarried at Durham till the Thursday next before the Monday that the rebells rose,¹ secret intelligence

¹ This must have been Thursday, November 10, 1569. The following Monday, November 14, the Earls of Northumberland and Westmerland had appeared with their forces at Durham, and, to inspire the idea that they fought for the Catholie religion, they began their proceedings by tearing in pieces the Bible and throwing down the communion table in Durham Cathedral. Earl of Surrey to the Queen, November 15, 1569.—*State Papers, Record Office.* See also Froude's *Elizabeth*, vol. ix, ch. 18, pp. 515 *et seq.*

being brought unto him, if he went not away that night, he could not passe southward, for the bridges would be taken up the next night, to prevent all intercourses and intelligences ; soe that Mr. Whittingham going then into the South, the rebels entred into his house, and spoyled the same, and rent in peices his books in such sort and abundance as was pityfull to beholde.¹

Mr. Whittingham returned within five weeks, with the Queen's army, conducted under the goverment of the aforesigned Ambrose Earle of Warwicke and the Earle of Lyncolne ; but the rebels, hearing of the Lords' comming, fledd, and the Lords, comming noe further then to Durham, presently returned.²

For eight or nine years after, Mr. Whittingham lived in the great love and liking of his neighbours, for his affability and bountifull hospitallity, which was in such a proportion as it is marvelled even to this day how the naked deanery alone (for he had noe more) could support his expences.

After those three yeares were expired, the see of York and of Durham became void both at one time,³ whereupon the Earle of Leycester (being a great favourite in Court, and he that had formerly moved the Queene for the deanery of Durham to be bestowed on Mr. Whittingham, as appeareth by the lettre herein before recited,) caused Sir Edward Horsey (who was captain of the Isle of

¹ This statement does not agree with the testimony even of their enemies, who said that they paid for all they took, and suffered no spoil, and that a soldier who had taken a horse of the dean's out of his stable was punished, and compelled to re-store the horse.—Sussex to Cecil, November 16, 1569.

² The Earl of Warwick and Lord Admiral Clinton, afterwards Earl of Lincoln, were the leaders. They had reached Wetherby by December 14, and on the 16th the rebels had dispersed. Full particulars of this rebellion will be found in the *Calendar of State Papers, Addenda, 1569-70*, and also in Sir Cuthbert Sharpe's *Memorials of the Rebellion of 1569*, in which many of the papers are printed.

³ Edmund Grindal, Archbishop of York, was translated to Canterbury 10th January, 1576, and Edwin Sandys, his successor, was appointed 25th January, 1577. James Pilkington, Bishop of Durham, died January 23, 1576, and Richard Barnes succeeded him 5th April, 1577. By a singular mistake, several authorities name Pilkington's death as in January, 1575, instead of 1575-6 : Barnes's elevation as in April, 1575.

Wight, a great courtier and one of Mr. Whittingham his Neuhaven acquaintance,) to write to Mr. Whittingham to come to the Court, and he should not faile to have one of those places. Whereunto Mr. Whittingham returned answer by lettre, and sent it to the writer hereof, he being then of the Temple, to be delivered ; but the lettre being delivered and read, the writer herof got a sight of it, and found the effect of the lettre to be, that, touching the motions conteined in his lettre, he found himselfe soe declined by age and infirmitie, as that he felt himselfe very unfit to undertake soe great a place, with the burden that the good dischARGE of such a place required ; and that her Majestie had soe gratiouly and liberally already recompenced his services, as he should shew himselfe unthankfull if he should not seeme satisfied with soe good a bountie as he had already reecived, and therfore desired him that he, with all thankfullnesse and humble acknowledgment in his behalfe, would signifie to his honor the deep apprehension he conceived of his love towards him, soe effectually demonstrated by his lordship's mes-susage, which should tye him to a perpetuall remembrance of him in his prayers, being not able by any means in his power otherwise to requite soe extraordinary a favour.

Then, after a while, the archbishoprick of York and bishoprick of Durham being bestowed at one time, and both of them preferred by the meanes of one and the selfe same noble person, as was reported, the Bishop of Durham yelded that the Archbishop should visit the church of Durham, not knowing belike, or not regarding, the right of his owne church ;¹ soe, after a year or two, the deane and præbends² of the church of Durham were cited to appeare at the visitation.³

¹ The claim of the Archbishop to visit was of course in capacity of his office as metropolitan. On the general question whether archbishops have such power except on appeal, see Stephen's *Dictionary of Church Law*, under Visitation and Metropolitan. In the phrase "the church of Durham," no doubt the diocese is included, and, as part of the diocese, the cathedral, or rather its clerical officers.

² The vulgar form for prebendary—the prebend strictly is the property of the stall held by the prebendary.

³ A brief notice of this visitation occurs in the *Injunctions and Ecclesiastical*

The day appointed being come, the Bishop came to Durham, and after the sermon in the morning, the Bishop going towards the chapter-house to the visitation, Mr. Whittingham asked the Bishop whether he would visit in his owne right; he answered, in the right of the Archbishop; wherunto Mr. Whittingham answered that then he wronged his owne jurisdiction, and the clergie of the country in generall, and him and the rest of the Church more specially, for that they being sworne to maintaine the liberties of their Church, and by their statutes having noe visitour but the Bishop of Durham, if they should yeild to be visited in the right of the Archbishop, they should break their oath.¹ All which notwithstanding, and whatsoever could be alleadged by Mr. Deane, the Bishop persisted in his former resolution; and by this time, being come neare to the chapter-house doore, Mr. Whittingham called to the doore keeper to lock the doore, and to give him the keys, which the doore keeper did forthwith; which the Bishop hastning to prevent, Mr. Whittingham did a little interrupt him, taking holt of his gowne, and soe the business was concluded; but that accident bred a great in-

Proceedings of Bishop Barnes, edited by Canon Raine, for the Surtees Society, p. 65; the Durham chapter records have several allusions to a later and similar contest about 1587, when, during the vacancy of the see of Durham, the Archbishop of York had the care of the spiritualities. The papers relating to this *verata questio* are—

A folio labelled “De sede vacante” containing, among other articles.—

A paper of reasons why, supposing the Archbishop had power to visit the prior and convent, he should not have the same power over the dean and chapter, because they are not successors of the prior and convent, but grantees from the King.

Paper entitled “Sententia versus Decanum et Capitulum Dunelm. 1590.”

Paper on a dispute between the Archbishop of York and Dean and Chapter of Durham, on the right of visitation.

Paper in Latin on the same subject, with quotations from Latin authors and remarks in English.

Summary of reasons in favour of the chapter having the right over the spiritualities.

Four papers relating to the custody of the temporalities and spiritualities.

Selections from the minutes of chapter, entitled *Eccles. Cath. Dunelm. Liber Actionum, ab anno 1578 ad 1581*.

¹ For the chapter statutes, see Hutchinson, vol. ii. p. 118, &c., especially chapters i. and v.

dignation, both in the Bishop and Archbishop, against Mr. Whittingham.¹

Yet did that action adde (if any thing could be added) to the love which the towne and country did already beare towards him,² and did the more aggravate the displeasure conceived against him by the Archbishop and Bishop, and soe incense them as it appeared, by many of their speeches and actions, that they tooke it for a disgrace offered them, and such as could not be laid aside without a revenge.

Hereupon one of the prebends, being one alone, and of a singular factious spirit, and bearing ever a malignitie to Mr. Whittingham, and spying this opportunity to disgorge himselfe of his long conceived hatred against him, went to the Bishopps, and acquainted them with a plott that he had devised, which [if] they would pursue, he doubted not but it would eject Mr. Whittingham out of his deanery, which they gladly harkned unto, and did with all forwardness pursue.

The plott was this : that seeing there was one of the secretaries of the privy counsell, to whome the Queen had halfe given the deanery of Durham, before she gave it to Mr. Whittingham, and did after alter her purpose, by the occasion of Mr. Whittingham's preferment

¹ It is probably in reference to these and similar proceedings that the Bishop writes of the Church of Durham as an Augean stable, "whose stink is grievous in the nose of God and man, and which to purge far passeth Hercules' labours." Strype's *Annals*, vol. ii. pt. 2, p. 109, Oxford ed. A news-writer of the time, Fleetwood, recorder of London, speaks of there being a "broil of excommunication between the Archbishop and Dean," but plainly says he thinks my Lord Bishop in the wrong. *Ibid.* vol. ii. pt. 2, p. 107.

² The spirit of the county would be with Whittingham, partly because of the clan-like feeling which had always pervaded the Palatinate, and partly because of the resistance which had existed for ages on the part of the Northern province to any needless interference on the part of the Archbishops of York. An account of Archbishop Wickwaine's attempt to visit the priory of Durham in 1283 is given in Raine's *Lives of the Archbishops of York*, p. 320, quoting *Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores tres*, Surtees Soc. ed. pp. 58-69, and Prynne's *Collections*, vol. iii. p. 309. *Chron. Lanercost*, p. 120. For a similar case, see *Injunctions of Bishop Barnes*, Appendix p. viii.

therunto, by lettres of commendation from Neuhaven, as is aforesaid, he doubted not but he would helpe, by any means he could, to dispossesse him of the deanery, that he might cry quittance with him, and gaine the deanery to himselfe ; and therfore if their lordshipps would write, or give leave to him to sollicite that secretarie to procure a commission from her Majestie, directed to their lordshipps and others, to visite the church of Durham, he would preferre such articles against the Deane as would procure his deprivation.

The Bishop, following the track of his devise, procured a commission directed to the Lord Archbishop of York, the Earl of Huntingdon then Lord President,¹ the Lord Lieutenant of the North, the Bishop of Durham, the Bishop of Carlisle, the Deane of York, and Sir Thomas Boynton, Sir Robert Stapleton, Sir William Mallorye, Sir Christopher Wandsford, both of Yorkshire, and divers others.² They all came to Durham to the visitation,³ where they

¹ Henry Hastings, third Earl of Huntingdon. He held the office until his death, 31st December, 1595.

² The commission is printed in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xv. p. 785, date May 14, 1578. In the notice of Whittingham, in Hutchinson's *Durham*, vol. ii. pp. 143-152, a previous commission is said to have been procured by Whittingham to the Archbishop of York, the President of the Council in the North, and the Dean of York, to determine complaints against him, chiefly in reference to the validity of his ordination, on which Dean Hutton, who inclined to Whittingham, spoke of his ordination as superior to that of the Archbishop. But this commission does not appear on the Patent or Close Rolls. Strype (*Annals Reform.* vol. ii. pt. 2, p. 168) places it in 1576, and records that it had little effect, because of misunderstandings between the Commissioners.

There is a commission on the Patent Roll, 19 Eliz. pars 12, memb. 12 dors., to the Bishop of Durham, Henry Lord Hunsdon, Warden of the East Marches, Cuthbert Lord Ogle, William Lord Eure, Dean Whittingham, and sixteen others, to enforce within the diocese of Durham obedience to the Acts of Uniformity, and also of assurance of the Queen's power, of 5 Eliz.; and to the Act of 15 Eliz., to suppress all disorders in churches or chapels, or against divine service or the ministers thereof, impose fines upon such as absent themselves, and enforce obedience to the Articles of 1562; with power to punish disobedience by excommunication, censure, or fine; the Bishop keeping a register of the proceedings. It is dated Gorhambury, 22nd July, 1576.

³ About July 8, 1578, see Appendix p. 42.

sate four dayes, aganst when the busy instrument I spoke of before, had provided more than 50 articles against Mr. Whittingham, and presented them to the visitors (amongst whome there were some that would looke to it that they should want noe due examination); yet after 4 dayes' sifting, when the rest were found to be frivoulous, without prooфе, and grounded only upon malice, they were all left as idle and vaine, saving 2;¹ the one that Mr. Whittingham was not capable of the deanery of Durham, being only a Master of Arts, the statutes of the house requiring that the deane should be a Bachelor of Divinity at the least;² the second was that Mr. Whittingham was not capable of the deanery, for that he was not made minister after the orders of the Church of England, but after the forme of Geneva.³ To which point learned Deane Hutton, then of York, afterwards Bishop of Durham, and lastly Archbishop of York,⁴ did then say to those that did most urge against it, that the ministry of Geneva was better than that ministrie which was made with these words, *accipe potestatem sacrificandi pro viris et mortuis*, with which words it is said the principale objector was made preist,⁵ and therfore had the lesse cause to except against the ministerie of Geneva.

¹ He is also censured for having, in his capacity of Dean of Durham, encouraged his former friends, Knox and Goodman, to set up Presbyterianism in Scotland, but this does not seem to have formed one of the articles of his accusation. Hutchinson's *Durham*, vol. ii. p. 147.

² The statutes making this proviso are of the date of Mary, and printed in Hutchinson, vol. ii. p. 118.

³ The question does not appear to have been whether the ordination was episcopal (the high episcopal doctrine dates chiefly from Bancroft, Saravia, and Bilson, about 1590), bnt whether the recognised form of Geneva ordination had been given to Whittingham. See for fuller accounts of the case, Appendix Nos. I., II.

It was said that he was "made minister by a few mean men and lay persons in a private house at Geneva, without the knowledge or consent of Mr. Calvin, chief minister there." Strype's *Annals*, vol. iii. pt. 1, p. 468.

⁴ In 1595, showing that this life could not have been written earlier than that date.

⁵ These words, being employed only in the Romish ordination service, seem to point out Whittingham's opponent to be W. Bennett, D.D., who held the fourth stall. He and Robert Swift, who was ordained at Louvain, were the only members of the chapter that had received Romish orders, bnt Bennett seems the more likely, because,

But to proeceede : Mr. Whittingham desired that because those two articles depended upon points of law, that he might by counsell make his answere ; which though some of the commissioners would not yelde unto, yet it was granted by the greater part, and the visitation adjourned to York;¹ aganst which day appointed, Mr. Whittingham had gott councell from London, to strengthen him against bothe those former objections, whereunto the *non obstante* in his patent sufficed to ffe him.

The visitation then at York being ended, without any certeyn adjournment,² neither any sentence or matter given or done against

being spiritual chancellor under Bishop Pilkington, and for a short time under Bishop Barnes, he would have more influence than Swift. Hurchinson. vol. ii. p. 183, *et seq.*

¹ This was in August 1578. About this time, on 30th September, 1578, when Richard Barnes, Bishop of Durham, assigned the preachers for the diocese for the year from Michaelmas 1578 to 1579, he gave twelve sermons to Mr. Dean, of which four were in Durham, one in Chester, and one in Lancaster. *Injunctions, &c., of Richard Barnes, Bishop of Durham*, p. 82, *Surtees Soc.*

² There was great difference of opinion among the commissioners themselves. The Earl of Huntingdon, Lord President, refused to agree to Whittingham's dismissal, on the ground of imperfect ordination, "for it will be ill taken by all the godly and learned, both at home and abroad, that we should allow of the popish massing priests in our ministry, and disallow of ministers made in a reformed church." He urged reecification of the disorders of the chapter, blaming their irregular ways, embezzling of revenues, &c., and especially censuring Archdeacon Pilkington and young Bunny, as "precise men who worked all the trouble." Strype, *Annals Reform.* vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 173.

On the other hand, the Archbishop of York writes to the Lord Treasurer on April 4, 1579, from Bishopthorpe, that "This Durham matter breedeth a great broil. The Dean hath gotten more friends than the matter deserveth. The discredit of the church of Geneva is hotly alleged. Verily, my lord, that church is not touched; for he hath not received his ministry in that church, or by any authority or order from that church, so far as yet can appear. Neither was there any English church in Germany that attempted the like; neither needed they to have done, having among themselves sufficient ministers to supply the room. But if his ministry, without authority of God or man, without law, order, or example of any churh, may be current, take heed to the sequel. Who seeth not what is intended? God deliver his church from it! I will never be guilty of it." He concludes with a request not to be further made a party in this Durham matter. Strype's *Annals*, vol. ii. pt. ii. pp. 620—1. Oxf. edit. A full account of the affair is given in Strype, vol. ii. pt. ii. pp. 167—175. An indefinite adjournment was the inevitable result of these differences.

him, Mr. Whittingham went up to the privy councell, to move that they would call in the commission,¹ signifying what had bin done in the matter already ; but his sure freind that he had of the councell (as is aforesaid) alleadged that the Bishop had more matter to urge aganist him ; whereupon lettres were sent to the Archbishop to send some to alleadge against Mr. Whittingham, or else the commission would be called in.² Whereupon two doctors of the civil law, dependants on the Archbishop, were sent up to object against Mr. Whittingham, who, after two or three hearings before the Privy Councell, one of the Lords asked him if their master had nothing to doe but to send such a couple, &c. to object such ydle matters aganist such a man as Mr. Whittingham was knowne to be of the most of that borde ; and soe the objectors returned as they came, &c.³

But still his true freind, seeing him dayly to decline more and more in his health and spirits, and being oppressed with soe long troubles, great expences, and tædious delays, did even then move that Mr. Whittingham (there being then occasion to send an ambassador into France,) might be sent thereto ; whereupon Mr. Whittingham asked the said freind of his if he thought it not sufficient to seeke to bereave him of his livinge, but of his life alsoe, he

¹ Strype, in his *Annals of the Reformation*, vol. ii. pt. 2, p. 173, says that the Lord President wrote that there was a manifest desire, on the reading of the commission, to deal first with the Dean, but at length the commissioners consented to deal with general disorders, which took so long that they adjourned to Aneckland in November. This was the date of Whittingham's journey to London, for his second certificate, sent to the Commissioners, is dated from London, 15 Nov. 1578 (Appendix p. 42), and had been there three months before Candlemas Day, February 2, 1579.

² Archbishop Sandys, in legislating upon a similar case several years later, declared that had Whittingham livid he had been deprived, without special grace and dispensation. Strype's *Whityft*, vol. i. p. 481.

³ There were not wantings erions grounds of accusation against the Dean connected with Durham Cathedral, which his biographer has thought fit to omit.

He made a profit of £20 by taking down and selling the high leaden roof in the Frater-house (Refectory), and making it a flat roof instead. He intended to take down and sell a peal of four bells whiech hung in the Galilee steeple, bnt was forestalled by Thomas Spark, the Bishop's suffragan, who removed three of them, at

seing him in such weaknesse and debility, both of body and spiritt, altogheather unsitt for such imployment.

But Mr. Whittingham still labouring to gett the commission called in, (having tarried there alreadie a quarter of a yeare, with eight serving men and all their horses, and in winter, to his excessive charge,) his true freind had now found out a new colour of delay; to wit, that after Easter (it then being about Candlemas) the Bishop would come up to the Parlament,¹ and soe Mr. Whittingham might now goe downe, and then come up againe to heare what the Bishoppes themselves would object against him, as though the Bishoppes could alleadge more then they had given in instructions to the doctors, their proxies.

his own cost of £30 or £40, to the gardens, leaving one still standing over the Galilee. He removed the marble and freestone slabs that covered the graves of the priors of Durham; had them used for troughs for horses and hogs, and some employed to construct a washing-house. By a kind of retributive justice, his own tombstone in Durham Cathedral was destroyed by the Scots in 1640. Greenwell's *Notes on Durham Wills and Inventories*, pt. 2, p. 16. Hutchinson's *Durham*, vol. ii. p. 146.

He removed from the cathedral two holy-water stones: one he placed in his own kitchen, where it was used for steeping beef and salt fish; the other his widow took away with her to a house in the North Bailey, whither she removed, and putt it in her kitchen, carrying away also other stones, as gravestones, &c., which she required, and which remained till a superstitious feeling arising from many deaths in the house led to their restoration to the abbey-yard.

Worse still, on the pretence of executing the instructions of the Queen's Commissioners for the removal of superstitious books and ornaments, the Dean broke up and defaced in a fit of iconoclastic zeal an image of St. Cuthbert, which he found standing by the parlour-door (door of the old locutorium), in the east alley of the cloisters; and his wife, getting into her hands the long venerated banner of St. Cuthbert, which had more than once been a rallying point in times of conflict, especially in the battle of the Standard in 1138, "did most injuriously burn and consume the same in her fire, in the notable contempt and disgrace of all ancient and goodly reliques." Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 449. *Rites of Durham*, pp. 23, 33, 34, 52, 53, 64, 69, Surtees Soc. Surtees's *Durham*, vol. i. p. lxxii.

¹ No Parliament actually met between that of 18 Eliz., which commenced its sittings on February 18, 1576, and 1581; but there were sundry prorogations, and it was probably expected to meet earlier.

Thus you may see how Mr. Whittingham was opprest, though having proved himselfe innocent after soe many tryalls ; by which heavy hand soe carried over him, he was forced to come downe without obteining his just request, which he tooke very greivously. And though, at his returne to Durham, a great many of the better sort of the city and country went to meet him, the bells rung, and the people came running from all parts of the citie, in such number as the streets were scantly passable for the multitude who, with doubled and trebled acclamations of joy, strived to exhilirate his hart after all his troubles, but yet all was in vaine ; for within four dayes after his returne, he betooke himselfe to his bed, and never left it till he departed this life, being nine weeks after.¹

And now it is requisite that I should mention what hapned concerning him in the time of his soe long languishing sicknesse ; how he passed it over, and what was the manner of his death. The Archbishop, whose malice did not cease to pursue him till death, did certifie the lords of the counsel that Mr. Whittingham kept his bed pretending sicknesse, and had used some words of vaunting ; whereof the councell, by their lettre dated 3 May, 1579 (yet to be shewed), did advertise him. Whereupon he returning his answer to the lords, Sir Francis Walsingham, the principal secretarie, writh to him, as followeth :—

“ After my harty commendations. I have received your lettres of the 24 of the last, and, according to your desire, presented your letters to the lords, who, having seen and read the same, have willed me to signifie unto you that they take them in good part, allowing soe far forth of your answer to the hard suggestions made unto them aganist you, as that they mind to suspend their judgments of the information of the speeches you were said to have uttered, untill

¹ The biographer here regards Whittingham as a martyr to his obedience to the statutes in resisting the Archbishop of York; whereas the Archbishop probably knew of the havoc Whittingham had committed in the cathedral : and his adversary, if the Romish prebendary Bennett, might conscientiously consider Whittingham's consecration invalid.

your repair up hither, to satisfy them more fully by word of mouth ; and the delay of your coming they have resolved by your said lettre to growe of the great weaknesse of your body, which they take to be noe matter fained, but a truth. Wishing, if it please God, to send you as perfect recovery as yourself desireth, and soe I bid you hartily farewell. From the Court, the 1st of June, 1579.

“ Your loving freind,

“ FRA. WALSHAM.

“ To the right worshipfull my very
loving freind, Mr. Whittingham,
Deane of Durham.”

This lettre, being dated the 1st of June, and he dying the 10th of June, it preceeded his death but nine dayes ; whence may be observed, by these lettres above mentioned, that the malice of his adversaries did soe hotly pursue him as would not afford him a time of rest from their vexation to dye in. And yet all this storme grew only of this (as wee have heard), for that he made a conscience to avoide the breach of his oath, and to maintaine the liberties of the church wherunto he was sworne ; which case is soe strange (that for a matter soe good, soe just, soe conscientiable, a man should be so persecuted, and that even by those who by their funtions are tied to instruct and exhort to vertue, and to such actions as a very good Christian is tied unto,) as it cannot be paraleled ; and therfore who can heare this and not say with the poet—

“ Jupiter, hoc cernis: ne vindice fulmine pugnas?
Tuque, Astrea, sinis jura sacra premi ?”

But neither yet was God wanting to punish the malice and wickednesse shewed in this action, neither to take in hand the defence and revenge of the cause of the innocent ; for that he shewed such signes of his revenging hand upon five or six of the principall agents in this businesse against Mr. Whittingham, and that soe soone after his death, as it grew to be noted of all men, and of the best ranke, as a heavy judgment of God upon them, for their malicious plotts and pursuits against him. And as he was first in place of the action,

whome we have before mentioned, soe was he the first that was plagueled for his iniquityes ; for being att London, farre from home, fell mad, and in soe high degree as he was espied soe to be in the streets, as he went up and downe, being at last followed by the boyes and children with wondermente, as crowes doe after [blank] and soe he went to Ware, and there died in that pitifull ease.¹

The rest had great blemishes in their lifetimes, and in their death some of them had a judgment accompaning them. I doe of purpose abstaine either from particulating those judgments (but of the first which was soe notorious to all), or nominating of any of the parties, least the parties should be easily found out ; for I neither desire nor delight in laying aspersions on them, much lesse on the dead, and soe long since, but that the necessity of the history hath enforced me ; and therin have I stryven to be as obscure as I could, not betraying the historie, even for charity sake towards the dead, and soe I desire to be construed, lest, whilst I declare other men's malice, I should shew myselfe to want charitie.

To this I may adde, by way of note, that as the former opposite went not scot-free who persecuted Mr. Whittingham, soe Deane Hutton, ever standing with Mr. Whittingham, was after advanced to the bishoprick of Durham, and after to be Archbishop of Yorke.²

And having now declared the occasion and proces of the crosses whiche Mr. Whittingham susteined in the cause aforementioned, it is fit and convenient that the manner of his death, and carriage in his long languishing sicknesse be also declared. Soe soone as he kept his bed, he sent for some of his freinds, and by their advise he made his will;³ which after it was done, he willed those that

¹ The conjecture has already been hazarded (*note 4, p. 30,*) that this chief opponent of Whittingham was Wm. Bennett, prebendary and spiritual chancellor ; and it derives strength from the fact that Bennett resigned his prebend in 1579, within a few months after Whittingham's death, probably on account of madness, and died in 1583.

² His favour to Whittingham was afterwards made an article of accusation against himself. Strype's *Annals*, vol. iii. pt. i. p. 463.

³ It bears date 18 April, 1579. In it he thanks God for calling him from the blindness of idolatry and superstition to be partaker of the blessed light of his Gospel, and making him a preacher of his holy ministry. He divides his goods into

were about him that none should henceforth trouble him with any worldly matters; and, though he continued languishing about nine weeks after in his bed, he would seldom admitt any company to come to him, unlesse some speciall freinds, and those also rarely: and being diverse times asked of his freinds why he was soe solitary, and would not delight in company which might help to alleviat his sicknesse, he would answer them, had he not company enough there? and would take up his Bible, and shew it them, which lay by him continually on his bed. Sometimes in his sicknesse, and diverse times, he would call all his servants, which were many, to come into his chamber, and would exhort them for an houre togeather to the feare of God, and privately would call them by one and by one, and tell them of such faults as he had suspected them to be guilty of, and did admonish them to leave them, shewing withall that he had bin too indulgent or negligent toward them, in not carrying a stricter hand over them; for this he did now find as great a burden in conscience as for any other his sins that he could remember, and did verily think that that negligence towards them had as much drawne these his late afflictions and crosses upon him as any other his sins whatsoever.

three equal parts, bequeathing one to his wife, a second to his daughters Sarah, Judith, Deborah, and Elizabeth, when 24 years old or married: the portion of any that die to go to poor divinity students in Oxford or Cambridge. The third portion is bestowed in numerous legacies: £10 to poor householders in Durhain; £6 13s. 4d. to poor strangers of the French churh in London; to the Countesses of Huntingdon and Warwick each a book with a cover silver-gilt, value £10; to his two elder daughters £30; his cousin Rich. Whittingham £5; the rest in small sums of from £4 to 1s. 8d. to sundry persons, including his nurse and many servants, the petty canons, choristers, schoolmasters, &c.; Dr. Pilkington has a legacy of 10s. and his former coadjutors, Mr. Goodman and Mr. Gilby, each an old ryal. Residue to his wife, younger son Daniel, and two younger daughters.

Of his landed property, the manor of East and West Baulk, co. York, and rectorie of Mitgarth, he leaves to his son Timothy, with reversion to Daniel and his daughters, reserving to his wife her thirds, and £400 profits towards the bringing up of his children, and making her sole tutor of the younger ones, the eldest son being a ward of the crown. *Durham Wills, edited by Rev. W. Greenwell for the Surtees Society*, pt. ii. pp. 14—19.

The biography of Dean Whittingham here ends, but his French-born widow claims a concluding notice. As stated in his will, she had a fair share of his property, and the guardianship of her younger children, but the breath could scarcely have been out of his body when she dispatched a messenger to London, to make two requests; one for the custody and marriage of her eldest son Timothy, who had become a Queen's ward, and the other for all debts due to her late husband at the time of his decease. Both were granted. On the 15th of June, a patent was issued in London granting her the wardship of her son,¹ and Secretary Walsingham consented to write to the vice-dean and chapter on her behalf.

Meanwhile, on the 16th of June, a decree was pronounced by Francis Bury, the vice-dean, and the chapter, that "Mistress Whittingham shall have answer to her bill touching all dueties that is behind to her late husband, our Deane deceased, and that she the same day shall answer the college all such duties as is behind."

On June 30th, at a meeting of the chapter, Mr. Vice-dean read the letter of Secretary Walsingham, and it was decreed that Mr. Ralph Lever shall indite the answer, as follows:—

The Lorde Jesus assiste your honour with His holye spirite! We have receyved your honour's letters in the behalfe of Maistres Whittingham and her fatherlesse children. In which lettres your honour prayeth us to yeld vnto them all that was due to our late Deane at the tyme of his deathe, and not to withdrawe anye parte of hys quotidianes. for the tyme of his last beinge at London: vnto which your honour's most godlye request we doo willinglye yelde, marvelinge whyle anye should neede to procure lettres in this behalfe. except it were to lett vs understande that he was absent from us by comaundement, to attend upon our Lords of her Majesty's most honorable Privie Councell. And if they were for that end, then doo we take your honour's lettres to be a sufficient prooфе that he had good cause of absence, and such as by our Statutes is to be allowed of: notwithstanding if they had lacked such prooфе, yett eche one of us wold have yelded herin, as well at your honour's request,

¹ Patent Roll, 21 Eliz.

as also to lett the worlde see that we never meante to deale hardlye with
anye, muche lesse with the wedowes and fatherlesse children.

Thus, wishinge to have your honour's healpe that a good man maye be
our Deane, we comitt your honor to the tuition of the Almightye. From
Duresme the last of June, 1579.

Your honor's most humble to commande,
The subdeane and prebendaries of Duresme.

FRA. BURY, Vice-decanus.

JOHN PILKINGTON.

RO. BELLAMYE.

RAPHE LEVER.

PETER SHAWE.

LEO. PILKINGTON.

GEO. CLIFFE.

To the right honorable Sir Frances Walsingham, knight, principall
Secretarye to the Queene's Majestie.¹

A few months later Whittingham's successor, Thomas Wilson, writing to the vice-dean, says—"I understand the widow Whittingham is to be called before you, for some matters of moment, that not only touch you all in general, but also myself in particular. For the profits of the deanery due to me since her husband's departure, which I have by grant from Her Majestie, I pray you call her to account, and also require her to shew unto you what leases she hath of the house, without concealment of any of them. October 22, 1579."

Our next record of Katherine Whittingham is a curious incident recorded in 1583. She was accused by a neighbour, Margaret Key, wife of Francis Key, master of the grammar school, of defaming her character by reporting that she had had a child before marriage. Margaret first mentioned the report to Mrs. Whittingham in an evening walk in the dean's garden, in Michaelmas 1583. Mrs. Whittingham's answer was, "I do not say that you had any child before

¹ From the Durham Chapter Archives.

you were married, but I say that I have *heard* that you had a child before you were married, but I will not say that it is true ; do your worst, I will not fly the country."

A few days later, the aggrieved Mrs. Key's husband went, and several others with him, to call upon Mrs. Whittingham at her own house. He spoke first with her, but when she saw the others, she exclaimed, " Do ye bring witnesses with you ? Then do what you can, do what you *dare* ; I said I *heard* so, but I do not say it is true. Do ye come to me more than to others ?" She then named several persons from whom she had heard the report, adding " Ask of the boys of the grammar school, and sue me at York, sue me at London, I will answer you." She was sued, but only in Durham, and the result of the suit does not appear.¹

The last mention found of her is her will,² dated December 9, 1590. She bequeaths her mansion and dwelling-house in the North Bailey, and also her lands in France near Orleans, inherited from her father, to her son Timothy. Her houses in Kingsgate, near the Bow Church, Durham, to Daniel. All her armour and warlike furniture to her sons, and her grandson Robert Birkhead ; and after sundry bequests of furniture, plate, books, &c. including the " *Actes and Monuments of the Church*," and her " great French Bible," she divides the rest between her daughter Judith, then the only one unmarried, and the children of her daughter Birkhead.

¹ *Depositions from the Courts of Durham*, pp. 314—316, *Surtees Society*.

² *Durham Wills*, pp. 15, 16, edited by Rev. W. Greenwell, for the *Surtees Society*.

APPENDIX No. I.

Mr. W[illiam] W[hittingham,] now Deane of Darresme, hath not proved that he was orderly made minister at Geneva, according to the order of Geneva, by public authority established there.

In the third article objected against Mr. W. W[hittingham] it is affirmed that he is neyther deacon nor minister according to the lawes of this realme, but a mere lay man.

By way of answere, he confesseth that he is neyther deacon nor minister according to the order and lawes of this realme, but that he is a mere lay man he denieth. For (saith he) in his answere to the third article, I was ordered in Queen Marie's tyme in Geneva, according to the forme ther used, which I think (saith he) to be one in effect and substance with the forme now used in England, or allowed of in King Edward's tyme, which order of myne was as agreeable to the laws of this realme as any other forme, untyll 8 year of the Queen's Majesty's raigne. This is the sum of his answere to that article.

To his confession, viz., that he is not deacon nor minister according to the lawes of this realme, I add her Majesty's letter wrote to the Archbishop of York, my lord and master, commanding us the commissioners, chifely and above all other things, we should enquire of his ministrey, and lymiting how, if he be not ordered by some superior authoritie, according to the lawes and statutes of our realme, "then my express pleasure and commanding is," (saith her Majesty) &c. What [we] as commissioners, as her majesty's subjects were to do in this s[ame], her Majesty's laws being correspondent and redy for the execution of her Majesty's commandment, I urge not, but leave to your honourable consideration.

The later part of his answere is wholly untrue, but I impute hit to his ignorance, which is the less excusible, because hit is "ignorantia iuris." For in the first year of her Majesty's raigne, in the same moment of tyme and by the same authoritie that Queen Marie's ordering was repealed, King Edward's was revived; and many lerned and godly ministers were made before the eight yere and synce the first of her Majesty's raigne. Mary [Marry?], in 8 yere, and upon some doubte in Bonner's case, a farther

The objection against
Mr. W[hittingham.]

His answere to the
objection, which is
tripartite.

The severall considera-
tions of the particu-
larities of his answere.

additional declaration and confirmation was made of King Edward's statute for ordering of ministers and consecrating of bysshops. The middest of his awnere conteyneth the state of the question in fact; whether or no, he were made minister in Geneva, according to the order of Geneva.

State of the question
is in facto.

His first profe.

For profe thereof on his behofe and part, he hath exhibited two sertificates, the first exhibited by himself at Durrisme, dated no where for the place, for the tyme hit bare the date of the 8 of July, in the twentieth yere of her Majestys raigne, subseribed by eight persons. That sertificate had these words of testificacion. Hit pleased God, by lotte and election of the whole English congregacion ther, orderly to chuse Mr. W.W[hittingham] to the office of preaching the word of God, and ministering the sacraments.

The defect of the first
certificate consisteth
in three poyntes.

With this sertificate 3 fautes were found—first, that hit might have byn made in Mr. W[hittingham's] chamber, for anything that did appear in the sertificate to the contrarye. 2°. That they were witnesses, but not sworn, and therefore not to be credited. “Testi non iurato non creditur.” Which in common persons as they were, (under the state of nobilitie, whiche in this realme onely hathe that privileg) is undoubtedlie true. 3°.—Th'archbishop, my lord and master, layd hold on these woordes: “by lotte and election,” offering greatly that neyther in Geneva, nor in any reformed church in Europe, hit culd be proved that any such order was ever used or allowed of, first and last only hit was seen used in Matthias the Apostle. For the confirmacion of his opinion, he avouched Mr. Calvin, who affirmeth that that election was not nor is not to be drawen into example. In this poynt Mr. Deane of York and Mr. Archdeacon Ramsden dyd not disagre from my lord.

A second profe by a
second sertificate by
amendment of the * *
of the first sertificate.

The worde of the se-
cond sertificate.

Agaynst our next meeting at York, a moneth after and moore, Mr. Deane exhibited an other sertificate, subseribed with the same persons, one of the eight changed, and an other set in his place, with the amendment of those fautes which were in the first sertificate, as they culd be amended: for first, hit was dated at London, 15 November then folowing; secondly, they were sworn upon the holy Evangelists, before one Paule Tilte, a publick notary, as he saith of himself; lastly, lotte and election was torned in to suffrages. Hit pleased God by the suffrages of the whole (Englyshe) was left out, orderly to chuse Mr. W. W[hittingham] unto the office of preaching the woerde of God, and ministering His sacra-

ments. Farther, they say, that he was admitted minister, and so published, with such other seremonies as ther is used and accustomed. Here is all that Mr. Deane hath brought for the profe of the fact, viz., that he was made minister at Geneva, according to the order ther.

Briefly, I say, this is no prooef of the fact, especially for three causes: First, although I have nothing in specie to object agaynst the witnesses, for I know them not but Mr. John Bodley, whom for his integritie of life and just dealing in the world I beleve to be an honest man, yet in g[eneral], by their contrararie and diversitie in sertifying, they have greatly discredited themselves, and diminished the faith that otherwise might have byn given them. The selfsame men, of the one and selfsame thing, to depose after one manner in July, and after another in November folowing, are to be suspected as too affectioned to the cause.

The insufficiency of
the second sertificate,
in probation of the
fact, consisteth also in
three poyntes.

Secondly, your honour's judgment humbly reserved, hit is agaynst all equitie of law or reason that judges, such especially as were imediately deputed from the person of her highnes, "supremā suā autoritate," shuld be tyed in conscience and knowleg to geve credite and direct our judgments according to the sayings of men whom we never saw, whom we never knew; examined in London, we being in York, withoutt our knowleg, withoutt our licenc or authoritie, for the performanc thereof: "Testibus. non testimoniis, credendum est; alia est enim authoritas presentium testium, alia testimoniornm, quæ recitari solent." And this is so sure a ground and so agreeable to reason and nature, that if a cause be delegated "juris solemnitate omissā," yet "testimonia," which a man may bring into the curt in his purse or his poket, are so far from making a proof as they do not so much as make "indicium probationis;" but "testes præsentes," whom the judges may vewe "quo vultu, quâ constantiâ, quâ animi trepidatione testificentur," and that in the presenc of the avers party, which the law of nature requireth, who might propose exceptions agaynst the persons and sayings of the witnesses, with interrogatories if he listed, to the easier and better serch of the truth. If this had byn don, or if this shalbe don, the truth of this matter shall fall into a more open light and fullness then yet hit hath done: especially in the most materiall poyntes wherin the witnesses yeld no reason of their sayings, and therefore not to be credited: and wherin the later sertificate is coningly but yet insufficiently penned:— "admitted minister," they tell not by whom, which of necessitie ought to

An answere to the argument made for the Deane.

have byn expressed; "and so published, with such other ceremonies as ther is used and accustomed." Here, under your honor's correction, ceremonies is referred to publication, and not to admission, but I graunt hit be referred to both, yet it cometh to short. For altho hit be generally trne that a thing ones don is presumed to be don with all due ceremonies, yet that rule, as all other for the most part, hath his restrictions and limitations, and namely, in Mr. W[hittingham's] ease in this question of fact. "In ordinibus conferendis plures sunt solemnitates, aliae internae, aliae externae." Internae be thre; "ætas, morum gravitas, literarum scientia." Externæ, be two, "authoritas ordinantis" and "forma ordinationis." If, after a number of years, any man be denied to be a minister, becaus at his ordering he had not years sufficient, or wanted lerning or honestie, if he prove the external solemnities "authoritatem ordinantis," (which, by Buser's opinion, ought to be a bishop or superintendent,) and "formam ordinationis," which chifely consisteth in imposition of hands, the interne ceremonies are to be presumed, and so this doctrine is to be understood, under your honor's correction and pardon. But if it be denied, as hit is by Mr. W[hittingham,] that he or they that ordered had any authoritie at all to call him, or that he was not ordered according to the prescript other of the commonwelth wherein he was made minister, these solemnities becaus they are "facti" are not presumed, unless they be expressly proved; "facta non presumantur, nisi expressim probentur."

Agayne, my lord, wher the law doth require a solemnite to be expressly proved, as hit doth in the minister for externe solemnities, the presumption of law will not suffice. That imposition of hands is, as well by the judgment of the devines as lawers, of necessitie to be required, Mr. Calvin is very playne in his 4. booke of his Institut. ca. 3, sect. 16, wher first he saith that the apostles used no other ceremonies, "non alia ceremonia usa sunt, cum aliquem ministerio admonebant, quam manum impositione." 2°, he saith, "fuit hic solemnis ritus quoties ad ministerium ecclesiasticum aliquem vocabant. Sic pastores, et doctores, sic diaconos consecrabant." And although ther be no certayn and expresse commandment for imposition of hands; "qui tamen (saith he,) fuisse in perpetuo usu apostolis, videmus, illa tam accurata corum observatio præcepti vico nobis esse debet."

There is of late years a book writen in very good laten, very methodi-

imposition of hands
in the making a mi-
nister required of ne-
cessitie.

cally and lernedlye, the author's name is concealed, it is entitled "De disciplinâ ecclesiastica," which saith in these words : " Post designationem quae electione fit, ceremonia quedam adhibentur, quibus designatus tanquam possessionem muneris sui acceperat. Hæc autem ordinatio quam appellamus, in duobus fere ceremoniis, præcibus nimirum et manuum impositione consistit, sub quibus etiam et muneras explicatione complector. Hac enim (manuum viz. impositione) simplicissimâ ceremoniâ Evangelium contentum est ministros suos quasi investire." This was practised by Paule in making of ministers, " commonefacio te, ut suscites domum Dei quod in te est, per impositionem manuum mearum." This was commanded by Paule to be used by others when they made ministers, " manus cito ne cui imponas." Mr. W[hittingham] is so far from proving of these materiall poyntes, as he hath not so much as alleged them. And therefore, to us as judges, ther is no such matter to be proved. " Idem est, non esse et non apparere."

Sufficient matter not
alleged, much less
proved by Mr. W[hittingham.]

Mr. W[hittingham] being thus defective in proving the fact in the question of his ministre obstinately refused to conforme himself to the order of this realme, as appeareth by his confession to the 6 article of the positions additionalls; for whenas he was privately and friendly moved by my lord of Durrisme, now his ordinary, to conforme himselfe to her majestie's laws, he first dowtced and required tyme of deliberation; uppon deliberation he gave answere he wold not. He that shall witingly and disobediently (lyving in any nationall church in the world, taking livings in that church as a member thereof) cut himself from the unitie of that church, if hit be "in articulis fidei vel in sacramentis, est haereticus;" if "in ritibus et ceremoniis, est scismaticus." The particular application I refer to your honourable consideration.

Mr. W[hittingham's]
singulare or refusal
of conformitie.

Lastly, And please your Honour: Ther be ij poyntes in the ministre chiefly to be respected, the one relying on God's word, the other on man's authoritie. When a man is called to the ministre, he is authorized to preach, to minister the sacraments and other things expressed in God's book, incident to his office, and may do hit without man's law. But he can not call himself; " quomodo prædicabunt nisi mittantur? Nemo assumit sibi honorem, nisi qui vocatus est, tanquam Aaron :" who shall call him, in what forme, when, how, and such other ceremonies, is not put down in God's word, but left to the Christian practice. Unless,

I The peyne of singu-
laritie in churchmen.

ij things in every mi-
nister's ordering to be
respected.

therefore, Mr. Whittingham prove he was made minister at Geneva, according to the law ther, if hit were “aut contra aut praeter formam specificam jure Genevensi publico stabilitam,” he was neyther minister ther, nor here now is, “quod contra legem factum est nullam habet firmitatem.”

The recapitulation of
the whole.

Briefly and humbly to recapitulate to your Honour the sum of this my rude and simple speeche. How greatly Mr. W[hittingham] hath intangled himself within the danger of her Majestie's lawes generally, and her highenes' commandment particularly, his owne confession (which is repugnant to both) doth manifestly declare. The defect of his first ser-tificate for the truth of the matter, the unsufficieney of the second in the probation of the fact, the necessitie of imposition of hands omitted, his contempt in conforming himself, uppon his ordinari's admonition, to her Majesty's lawes; his simplicitie in separating himself from the unitie of this English church, be such matters as my lord and master, placed under God and her Majestie chifest in the north over ecclesiastical persons, can not but greatly fere, as a sparkell of scisme contemned that may grow to a flame of division. He doubteth not but your Honors will provyd for hit, and therefore humbly prayeth hit may not be remitted. *Domestic Papers*, temp. Eliz. vol. exxx. No. 23, *Public Record Office*.

An abstract is printed, but with considerable omissions, in Strype's *Annals*, vol. ii. pt. ii. pp. 170—175.

APPENDIX No. II.

A note or breviarie of confessions and proofs against Mr. William Whittingham, in the Quenes Majesties Visitation of the Church of Durresme.

1. No lawfyl minister.	That he is no minister, according to the lawes } or statutes, or ordinances of this realme	} By himselfe confessed.
2. Not graduate as he ought to be.	That he is not graduate, as the deane of that churche ought to be, by the statute of the same, viz.: Sacrae Theologiae professor, Baccalaureus ne vel Juris Doctor.	} Confessed as afore.
3. Irregular.	That, notwithstanding the premisses, he bath ministered the Holy Communion	} Confessed.
4. Schismatick.	That he is a misliker of the English Church } Service	} Partlie proved.
5. Seditions.	That he was a furtherer to the setting forth } of the wicked book against the lawfull regiment of women.	} Proved by one witness, and the book extant, with an epistle to it in his name printed at large.
6. An adul- } terer and dronkard. } So de- famed.	That he is defamed of adulterie. Dronkennes.	Partly proved. Proved.
7. A slander } to the mi- } nisterie. } So de- famed.	That he is offensive and slanderous to the } ministerie.	Partlie proved.
8. Of an evill mynde.	That he threatened the overthrowe of Durham } Churche.	Proved.

That he hath bene a dilapidator of the state of the churche, in leasing his own corpes of the deanryc, and of other the prebends.¹ In taking the treasure, common rents, many common commodities, and converting them to his owne use.

9 A dilapidator.

In neglecting to give authoritie to leavy arrerages, whereby they are growen to be great, and some of them desperate. In denieng to grant authoritie to defend suites, whereby the churche hath latelie lost xxxⁱⁱ a yeare. In spoiling the woods. In prodigall wasting the house-treasure, as ec. marks in one iorney, beside vij^{lb} for wyne and sugar, and other spieces.

Proved.

10. Perjured

That he hathe broken divers statutes of the said church, wherunto he was sworne, as well in the premisses, as in keping chapters forth of the chapter house; in sealing leases not before registered; in not distributing the almes-money and accompting for it; in omitting negligently ordinary chapter dayes; and in evell keping the registers and evidence of the churche, and so consequentlie hath committed perjurye.

Proved.

11. His ministerie
unproved.

His pretended priesthoode or ministerie of Geneva order.

} Not sufficiently proved.

12. His testimoniall
not proved.

His reading of the B testimoniall of his assent and subscription to th'articles of relligion, according to the statute of Anno xijj Dominae Reginæ nunc

Unproved.

Endorsed— A breviarie of proofs against the Deane of Durham, *Domestic Papers*, temp. Elizabeth, vol. cxxx. No. 24.

¹ This is the Corpus land—the separate estate specially appointed to the dean and each prebendary.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL
OF
THE CAMDEN SOCIETY,
READ AT THE GENERAL MEETING
ON THE 2ND MAY 1870.

THE Council of the Camden Society elected on the 1st May 1869 has to regret the loss which the Society has sustained during the past year by the death of some of its oldest and most valued Members, as the following List will show:—

REV JOHN BESLY, D.C.L.

LEONARD SHELFORD BIDWELL, Esq., F.S.A.

THE REV. GUY BRYAN, M.A., F.S.A.

THE RIGHT REVEREND THE LORD BISHOP OF CHICHESTER.

THE LORD FOLEY.

SIR C. WENTWORTH DILKE, Bart., LL.B.

JOHN SMITH, Esq.

THE LORD TAUNTON.

THE REV. JAMES HENTHORN TODD, D.D., M.R.I.A.

THE MARQUESS OF WESTMINSTER.

SIR CHARLES G. YOUNG, Garter, F.S.A.

To this List has to be added the name of the late Director of the Society, MR. BRUCE, who, from the 2nd March, 1838, the day on which the Society was founded, up to the moment of his sudden and lamented death on the 28th of October last, may be said to have been the ruling spirit of the Society. There were many reasons why this should have been so. His thorough acquaintance with the objects for which the Society was established fitted him in an eminent degree to advise the Council in its choice of publications. His thorough business habits enabled him to order the financial arrangements of the Society on the basis which has done so much to ensure its permanency; while his general good judgment,

courtesy, and temper secured ready attention to his suggestions, and gained for him the warm personal regard of all who were associated with him. He was the first Treasurer, and for nineteen years the Director, of the Society. He edited its first publication, which was followed up by a dozen others, many of them among the most valuable contributions to our National History which the Society has given to the world ; and, in addition, he contributed several papers to the Miscellany, and rendered valuable assistance in the preparation of a large proportion of other volumes of the Camden publications. In Mr. Bruce every member of the Society has been deprived of one to whom he was personally indebted ; while his loss will long be mourned by all who had the happiness to enjoy the friendship of a man who was no less distinguished as an accomplished scholar than as a Christian gentleman.

The following Books have been issued to the Members since the last Meeting :—

I. A Spanish Account of the Proposed Marriage between Charles Prince of Wales and the Infanta ; by Francisco de Jesus. Edited, with a Translation, by SAMUEL RAWSON GARDINER, Esq.

The value of this work will be at once recognised when it is stated that it may be considered as the first argument from the Spanish side on the subject of this important event, and that the evidence of MSS. preserved in the archives of Simancas shows that it may be safely regarded as a trustworthy narrative of the facts of the case as they would naturally appear to a Spanish Catholic.

This was followed by

II. Notes taken by Sir John Borough, Garter King of Arms, of the Treaty carried on at Ripon between King Charles I. and the Covenanters of Scotland, A.D. 1640. Edited by JOHN BRUCE, Esq. F.S.A.

in which the late Director gave the Society the first fruits of his researches among the historical records at Crowcombe Court. The document is in itself of great interest, but its value has been considerably enhanced by the Editor's preface, which is one of those instructive and exhaustive essays

which, like the prefaces to his Calendars of State Papers, serve to show how much English history would have gained had he made one period of it the subject of a distinct and original work.

This was followed by

III. Churchwardens' Accounts of the Town of Ludlow from the 27th Henry VIII. (1540) to the end of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. Edited by THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq. M.A. F.S.A.

which, though chiefly of interest to local antiquaries, is not without its peculiar value for students of our Church History and Social Progress.

The works which it is proposed to issue to the Members during the ensuing year are

I. Henry Elsynge's Notes of Proceedings in the House of Lords during the session of 1621. From the original MSS. in the possession of Colonel Carew, of Crowcombe Court, Somerset. To be edited by SAMUEL R. GARDINER, Esq.

II. Letters and Papers of John Shillingford, Mayor of Exeter A.D. 1447—1450. To be edited by STEWART A. MOORE, Esq.

III. A Collection of Original Letters of the Trevelyan Family. To be edited by Sir WALTER TREVELYAN, Bart., from the originals in the possession of the Editor.

By Colonel Carew's kind permission copies are being taken of the remaining volumes of Elsynge's Notes extending over the Parliaments of 1624, 1626, and the first session of the Parliament of 1628, and throwing new light upon the Impeachment of the Duke of Buckingham and the Petition of Right.

The following Works have been added to the list of Suggested Publications during the past year :—

I. A Series of Letters of the time of James the First, from the original MSS. formerly belonging to Mr. John Packer, secretary to the Duke of Buckingham, now in the possession of the Honourable G. M. Fortescue. To be edited by SAMUEL RAWSON GARDINER, Esq.

II. The Examination of Wycherley, a Conjuror in the time of Edward VI. from the original in the Lansdowne Library in the British Museum. To be edited by Dr. RIMBAULT.

III. The Life of William Whittingham, Dean of Durham, from a MS. in the Ashmolean Library. To be edited by Mrs. Everett Green.

The Council have great satisfaction in announcing to the Members that the General Index to the first hundred volumes of the Society's publications is making steady, and, looking to the nature and character of the work, rapid progress. Mr. Gough, to whose experienced hands the labour has been entrusted, reports that the Index to forty of the Volumes is completed; that seventeen others are in various states of progress; while forty-three are not commenced. He considers that one half of his labour is performed, and hopes that the latter half may be even more rapidly accomplished. The extent to which the value and utility of the Camden publications will be increased by means of this General Index are too obvious to call for comment, and the Council anticipates with great satisfaction the completion of this important work.

The Council of last year congratulated the Society on the issue of a Royal Commission for the inspection of Historical Documents in private hands, as calculated to give an impetus to the cause in which this Society feels so deep an interest. That Commission has issued its first Report, and the satisfaction with which this Society looked upon the establishment of the Commission is more than justified by its results. The vast mass of historical papers which the Historical Documents Commission has brought under public notice is enormous. Some of these may possibly be printed by the Government; but there is little doubt that many may owe their publication to the skill of Camden Editors and the funds of the Camden Society.

In view of the work before them the Council has great satisfaction in being able to refer to the Report of the Auditors for proof of the improved financial condition of the Society.

Signed, by order of the Council,

SAMUEL R. GARDINER, Director.

WILLIAM J. THOMS, Hon. Sec.

Dated the 30th April 1870.

REPORT OF THE AUDITORS.

WE, the Auditors appointed to audit the Accounts of the Camden Society, report to the Society, that the Treasurer has exhibited to us an Account of the Receipts and Expenditure from the 1st of April 1869 to the 31st of March 1870, and that we have examined the said accounts, with the vouchers relating thereto, and find the same to be correct and satisfactory.

And we further report that the following is an Abstract of the Receipts and Expenditure during the period we have mentioned.

RECEIPTS.	£ s. d.	EXPENDITURE.	£ s. d.
To Balance of last year's account..	119 15 0	Paid for 2 Woodcuts, Dingley's History from Marble	1 15 0
Received on account of Members whose Subscriptions were in ar- rear at last Audit	85 0 0	Paid for printing 500 copies, Vol. 100, Treaty at Ripon	40 5 0
The like on account of Subscriptions due on the 1st of May, 1869....	232 0 0	Paid for binding 400 copies of ditto	12 16 0
The like on account of Subscriptions due on the 1st of May, 1870....	16 0 0	Paid for printing 500 copies, Vol. 101, Spanish Mar- riage Treaty.....	122 5 0
To one Composition in lieu of An- nual Subscription (H. Gough) ..	10 0 0	Paid for binding 500 copies of ditto	20 0 0
One year's dividend on £1016 3 1 3 per Cent. Consols, standing in the names of the Trustees of the Society, deducting Income Tax..	29 17 0	Paid for printing 500 copies Vol. 102, Churchwardens' Accounts at Ludlow	56 4 0
To Sale of the Publications of past years	33 7 7	Paid for binding 400 copies of ditto	14 8 0
To Sale of Promptorium Parvulorum (3 vols. in 1)	4 18 0	Paid for binding 50 copies, Vol. 75, State Papers re- lating to Milton.....	1 12 0
		Paid for Paper	15 13 6
		Paid for Miscellaneous Printing.....	17 11 0
		Paid for delivery and transmission of Books, with paper for wrappers, warehousing expenses, &c. (in- cluding Insurance).....	26 3 0
		Paid for Advertisements	8 12 6
		Paid for Transcripts	17 15 6
		Paid for postage of Reports circulated	3 16 0
		Paid Mr. H. Gough (further payment on account of General Index)	110 0 0
		Paid for postages, tin box for papers, collecting, country expenses, &c.	8 13 5
		By Balance	53 7 8
	<hr/> £530 17 7		<hr/> £530 17 7

And we, the Auditors, further state, that the Treasurer has reported to us, that over and above the present balance of £53 7s. 8d. there are outstanding various subscriptions of Foreign Members, and of Members resident at a distance from London, which the Treasurer sees no reason to doubt will shortly be received.

HEN. HILL.
J. W. COSENS. } *Auditors.*

30th April, 1870.

Camden



Society,

FOR THE

PUBLICATION OF

Early Historical and Literary Remains.

President.

SIR WILLIAM TITE, M.P., F.R.S., V.P.S.A.

Council.

ELECTED MAY 1, 1870.

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Trustees.

C. P. COOPER, Esq. Q.C. | J. P. COLLIER, Esq. F.S.A.

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THE CAMDEN SOCIETY

is instituted to perpetuate, and render accessible, whatever is valuable, but hitherto little known, amongst the materials for the Civil, Ecclesiastical, or Literary History of the United Kingdom: and it accomplishes that object by the publication of Historical Documents, Letters, Ancient Poems, and whatever else lies within the compass of its design, in the most convenient form, and at the least possible expense consistent with the production of useful volumes.

The Subscription to the Society is £1 per annum, which becomes due in advance on the first day of May in every year, and is received by MESSRS. NICHOLS, 25, PARLIAMENT STREET, or by the several LOCAL SECRETARIES. No Books for the year are delivered until the Subscription has been paid. Members may compound for their future Annual Subscriptions by the payment of £10 over and above the Subscription for the current year. The compositions received have been funded in the Three per Cent. Consols to an amount exceeding £1,000.

New Members are admitted at the Meetings of the Council held on the first Wednesday in every month.

W. J. THOMS, Honorary Secretary.

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